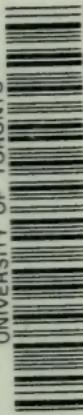


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# DEMOSTHENES

## PHILIPPICS I-II.

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WOODS.

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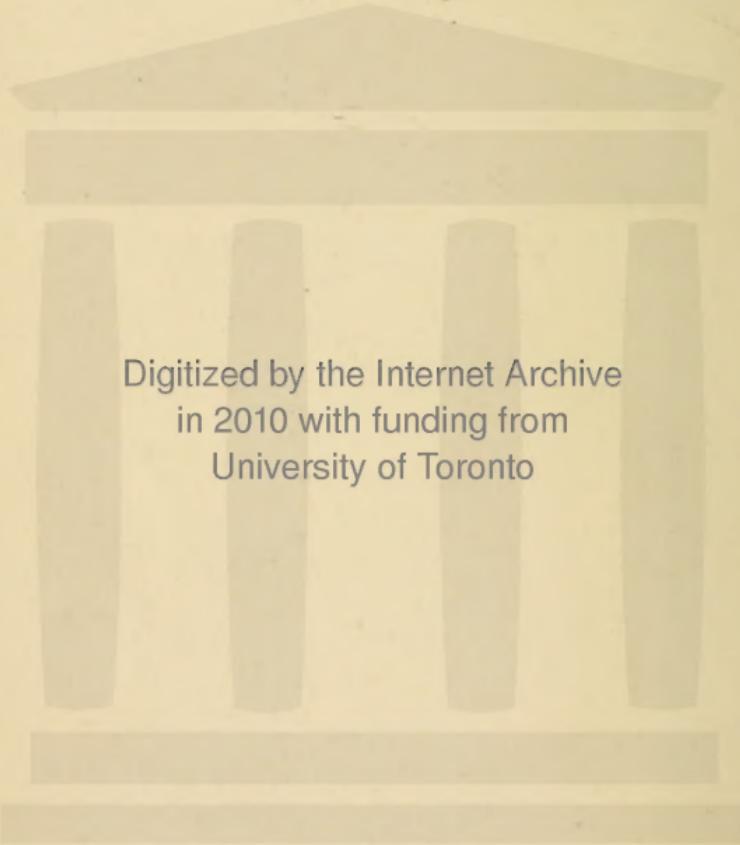
TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

BY

*Professor Ashley*





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ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β.)

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THE FIRST TWO

PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES.

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL,

BY

SAMUEL WOODS, M. A.,

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, LONDON, ONT.

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TORONTO:

THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, LIMITED.

1888.



## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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In 1866, when the first edition of this work was going through the press, I asked the Rev. Dr. McCaul, late President of University College, if he would accept the dedication of the volume, as the first Canadian edition of any Greek author, edited by a Canadian. With one of those peculiar actions which his old students remember so well, he replied, "I should like to see it first." I submitted the completed edition to him, and three days afterwards, the dedication standing in both editions was handed to me, written by his own hand.

The present edition is simply a reprint of the former one which obtained the highest encomiums from both Dr. McCaul, the late Prof. McKerras, of Queen's College, and other classical scholars. For the accuracy of the text and notes in the present edition, I owe especial thanks to the careful proof-reading of R. A. Little, Esq., B.A., classical master in the London Collegiate Institute.

SAMUEL WOODS.

LONDON, 1888.

## CONTENTS.

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|  | PAGE.    |
|--|----------|
| Chronological Table .....                  | ix-xxiii |
| First Philippic .....                      | 1        |
| Second Philippic .....                     | 13       |
| Introduction to the First Philippic .....  | 23       |
| Notes to the First Philippic .....         | 31       |
| Introduction to the Second Philippic ..... | 77       |
| Notes to the Second Philippic .....        | 83       |
| Table of Parallel Pages .....              | 114      |

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE  
OF  
EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

| B. C. | OLYMP. | ARCHON.     |   |
|-------|--------|-------------|---|
| 385-4 | 98.4   | Dexitheus.  | Demosthenes born according to the Pseudo-Plutarch in the <i>Lives of the Ten Attic Orators</i> , p. 845, D. The son of Demosthenes, the Paeonian, and Cleobule, daughter of Gylon.  |
| 382-1 | 99.3   | Evander.    | Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdiccas. The Cedmicia, seized by Phocidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phocidas recalled, and Leontias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Leontias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated. |
| 381-0 | 99.4   | Demophilus. | Agesipolis sent out to succeed Leontias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.  |
| 380   | 100.1  | Demophilus. | The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.  |
| 379-8 | 100.2  | Nicon.      | The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful, he returns leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Pireus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.   |

| B. C. OLYMP. | ARCHON.            |   |
|--------------|--------------------|---|
| 378-7        | 100.3 Nausinus.    | A new valuation at Athens for Taxes. Sphodrias recalled and Agesilans succeeds; he ravages the Boeotian territory for some time until Charias and Gorgidas defeat him at Theσpiae. He returns and Phocidas succeeds, who is slain soon after by the Thebans.  |
| 377-6        | 100.4 Callias.     | The father of Democleitus died, leaving a widow, and Demosthenes, seven, and a sister, five years of age. The guardians were Aphobus, Denothron and Thessipodus, to each of whom legacies were left. Battle of Tanagra, in which Agesilans defeats the Thebans. The Sacred Band of 300 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.  |
| 376-5        | 100.1 Charisander. | In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Democleitus is carefully trained in his rudimentary education and acquires the nickname of <i>Batulus</i> . Demetrios Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter <i>p</i> . Charias conquers the Laconian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Egean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Clecyra to renew the treaty with Athens. |
| 375-4        | 101.2 Hippodamus.  | Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegyra, and route the Spartans; Cleonidas again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.   |
| 371-3        | 101.3 Socrates.    | The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus sent to live at Clecyra, which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the                    |

islands of the Egean. Minasippus, the Spartan general lands in Corecyra and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusean fleet at Corecyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespiae shares the same fate.

Shortly after the death of Minasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Corecyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Aegumania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.

Athens being enraged with Thebes on account of the treatment of the cities of Thespiae and Plataea, sends embassadors to conclude a peace with Sparta. Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.

Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Boeotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Pherae, having arrived a few days after the battle, advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Lammenes advises the Acaulians to build a city and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in the Peloponnesus.

Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Pherae, intending to march into Delphi, and alongside at the Pythian games is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Polycrates succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilas; ravage the country and then retire. The Thelbans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.

The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

373-2 | 101.4 | Asteias.

372-1 | 102.1 | Alcisthenes.

371-0 | 102.2 | Phrictides.

370 } 102.3 | Dysmictetus.

369 }

369-8 | 102.4 | Lysistratus.

| B. C.   OLYMP. | ARCHON.      |  |
|----------------|--------------|--|
| 367-8   102.4  | Lysistratus. | <p>Arcadians and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish ; the latter retire and enter Messenia, where the city of Messene is founded and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there and returns to Thebes. The Lacedaemonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Alcæde invoke the aid of Alexander of Macedon, who puts garrisons in Larissa and Crannon, but is recalled into Macedonia by some intrigues. Ptolemy of Alouris, having slain Alexander, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, but the third year afterwards is murdered by Perdiccas, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry enters Aetolia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Pheræ, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and here they unite with the Athenians and Corinthians. Epaminondas forces their lines, and having attacked Corinth is repulsed by Chabrias and returns home. Pelopidas visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians ; Epaminondas, a private in the Theban army, Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas ; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states. Aristotle visits Athens. Aphobus having divorced the mother of Demos-</p> |
| 368-7   103.1  | Nausigenes.  |  |
| 367-6   103.2  | Polyphron.   |  |

thunes, marries the daughter of Philonides, the sister of Omotor, in the last month of 367. About this time Demosthenes applies himself to the study of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversation of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaea to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.

366: 5 | 103.3 | Cephisodorus Oropus wrested from Athens by Themistion and Theodorus and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achaeans make peace with Thebes, Elis and Arcadia at war.

Ptolemy is slain by Perdiccas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages. They are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace.

Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech *contra Onctorem*, and Aphobus is fined ten talents which he is unable to pay. The other guardians are then attacked by law. Sparta assists the Eleans against Arcadia. The battle of Olympia is fought during the games by the Arcadians, who attempted to exclude the Eleans from the control of the games. The Arcadians are defeated. Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Phera, and makes him dependent upon Thebes. Callisthenes, commander of the Athenian fleet on the coast of Macedonia is superseded by Timotheus, who takes Torone and Potidaea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynocephala, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdiccas and Athens ended by the truce of Callisthenes, which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.

Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laeches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phera besieges Pappathus,

365: 4 | 103.4 | Chion.

364: 3 | 104.1 | Timotheus.

363: 2 | 104.2 | Charicles.

## B. C. OLYMPIA. ARCHON.

|         |       |              |  |
|---------|-------|--------------|--|
| 363. 2  | 104.2 | Chrycides,   | and attacks some of the Icarian Islands; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica and plunder the Piraeus. Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Boeotia; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Messenia.  |
| 362. 1  | 104.3 | Molon,       | Timothoüs captures Crotus, Critaea, and Elæus, in the Chœusses; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Pheræ, and another to Thrace, to co-operate with Miltocæthæs, who revolted from Cötys; Cötys annexes them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Miltocæthæs.   |
| 361. 10 | 104.4 | Nicophorus   | Sameo capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistrate, the Athenian orator, banished. Molon reorganized by Sparta.   |
| 360. 7  | 105.1 | Callimachus, | Timothoüs and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated owing to the arrival of succor from Macedonia. Cötys captures Scutæ. Pericles is slain in battle against the Illyrian, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Pausanias succeeds the throne of Macedonia. The Illyrian are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Arcæus, supported by Athens, and Patraæus by Cötys and the Thracians. Arcæus defeated, and peace with Athens declared. Amphipolis, and accommodation made with Panionias and Cötys. |
| 359.    | 106.2 | Euclides,    | Democritus mentioned as remaining in use by Euclides, <i>Chœre</i> , p. 345, under this name. At the same time, Philip subdues the Paionians, and defeats Panionius, King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake Trichonæ. Cötys lays claim to Cithæa and Ilæus, but is soon after over-   |

dered, and leaves three sons, Amadocus, Berisades and Cersobleptes. The kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltorythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.

358 7 105.3 Cephisodotus Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Pherae assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out, Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium, having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Charax towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubaea to expel the Thracians.

The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general Charax. The Thessalians obtain an Amphipolitan decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Sacred War. Philip takes Potidaea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmeno conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the mine district of Pangaeus, and establishes Philippi on the site of Krenides. Isocrates, *D. PACE*. Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.

Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Hippocrates and Charax, with sixty ships, are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Charax accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the Tigran. Charax having no supplies hires his army to Artabazus, the Persian satrap in revolt, and obtains large rewards. The King enraged at the Athenians is about to aid the allies, when Athens makes peace with them in the summer of 355.

357-6 | 105.4 Agathocles.

356-5 | 106.1 Elphines.

| B. C. | OLYMP. | ARCHION.      |
|-------|--------|---------------|
| 356-5 | 106.1  | Elphines.     |
| 355.4 | 106.2  | Callistratus. |
| 354.3 | 106.3  | Diotimus.     |
| 353.2 | 106.4  | Thudemus.     |

Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paeonians and Illyrians to unite against him.

In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against *Andratium*, and against *Laophon*. *Loos*, HAL. p. 721. Philonechus the Phocian general obtains the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedaemon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thebrians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos. Cleonymus revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphiletus brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies.

Demosthenes *ποτε τῷ Σεργεοῦσῷ*, in which he advises the Athenians not to disturb the existing peace with Persia, and not to begin war before they prepare a naval force; and he explains how it is to be done. His first speech in political life. Philonechus is attacked by the Thebans, largely reinforced, in the depths of Parnassus; and to prevent himself falling into the hands of the enemy throws himself from a high rock. Onomarchus succeeds him, and the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.

The oration against *Meidias* is set down for this year by Diopore, and also *Pro Magnapollinis* and against *Tinocrates*. Philip takes Methone, and soon after Paeone and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phere, and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylae, but is prevented by the arrival of an Athenian force. Onomarchus takes Thronium, invades

|       |       |              |  |  |
|-------|-------|--------------|--|--|
| 352-1 | 107.1 | Aristodemus  | Bootia, and is defeated at Cheronaea. War is declared against Megalopolis by Sparta ; and an embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Matisolus dies, and is succeeded by his Queen Artemisia.   | First Philip, and oration against <i>diastorates</i> . In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Seyros, and the plundering of the Athenian coast. Philip, after his repulse at Thermopyla, retreats towards Thrace ; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Heraeum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon and Messene ; the Spartans thus pressed and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Boeotia and is defeated by the Thebans. |
|       |       |              | Demosthenes <i>De Lib. Rhodiorum</i> . Phayllus overruns the country of the Epinean Locrians ; and after another battle with the Boeotians at Aryea dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalaecus. The Boeotians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians remonstrate with Philip for retaining Pagase and Magnesia. Phalaecus invades Boeotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>πρὸς Φοινικαράς</i> . Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tanynae, expels Cleitarchus and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year. |  |
| 351-0 | 107.2 | Thessalus.   | The three Olynthian Orations. The Olynthians, having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched ; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers goes to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the  |  |
|       |       |              |  |  |
| 350   | 107.3 | Apollodorus. |  |  |
|       |       |              |  |  |
| 349   | 107.4 | Callimachus. |  |  |
|       |       |              |  |  |

B. C. | OLYMP. | ARCHON,  
340-3 | 107.4 | Callimachus.

Chalcidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithf. to him self.

Demosthenes one of the 500 this year.

In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lachares and Lathyrus. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to DEM. d. PAS. 176, 4000 citizens, 10,000 metochines, and 50 triremes. The Oration *against Miltiades* is stated by one author to have been delivered the year Philip had deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually diminishes. Philip celebrated his triumph over Olynthus at Dunn in Fars. Philip invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complied toward the end of the following year.

A. CHINE, an envoy to Ptolemy in, advises the *Ten Thaland* at Mecapolis, others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedonia, but all are equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace but was contrived probably through some interest hint of Philip and the Lachares still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Naxos and Alponis under the charge of Athens if they would assist them in reducing Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Lachares. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes arrangement on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the embassadors to Thess., where the peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and

346-7 | 108.1 | Theophr. | Themistocles.

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347.6 | 109.2 | Themistocles.

captured several of the Phœcian towns. The Athenians become alarmed, and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.

The Phœcian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phœcis from the list of states represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his *De Pyre* advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.

Colonies sent to the Chœsonese, under Diophites, by Athens. Philip harasses the Illyrians and Thessalians, and divides the latter country into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men nominated by himself. Python comes to Athens from Philip in the spring of 344 to complain of the embassy to Peloponnesus. Philip sends aid to the Argives and Messenians. Halonenes taken possession of by pirates under Sostratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.

In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the Second Punic speech, urging the Athenians to renew the war against Philip. They decree to send an embassy requiring him to deliver up to the states of Greece all his conquests, which, with the exception of Halonenes, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.

The speech, *de Halonenes*, delivered in this year, which is now ascribed to Demosthenes, but according to the best critics was delivered by Hegesippos the leader of the embassy to Philip, mentioned under the last year. Philip states his claims, which are unreasonable. Phœcian sent to Megara, to oppose Philip; forces and an embassy sent to Aearnæ to thwart him there; in both cases successfully. Philip makes attempts upon Eubœa to

346-5 108.3 Archins.

345-4 108.4 Eubulus.

344-3 109.1 Lyceiens.

343-2 109.2 Pythodotus.

| n. c. | OLYMP. | ARCHON.      |   |
|-------|--------|--------------|---|
| 343-2 | 109.2  | Pythodotus.  | establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of theodium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses Lechines, in his oration, <i>De Falser Legione</i> , of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up Haloneness to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take Haloneness as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued.                                       |
| 342-1 | 109.3  | Sosigenes.   | Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration <i>In Rhodis, Chers.</i> in the winter of 311, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers Teres the king of the country, and expels Cersobleptes, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches toward the Propontis, and at the same time his allies become successful in Euboea, and establish Cleitarchus and Phintarchus as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his <i>Turrid Puntiric</i> . The Athenian connections intended for the relief of Selymbria are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i> , of the Athenians. |
| 341-0 | 109.4  | Nicomachus.  | The tyrants expelled from Euboea by Phocion, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures Selymbria, and the Athenians, on the advice of Demosthenes, apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philipic</i> , (not genuine) is placed by Dionysius.  |
| 340 } | 110.1  | Theophrastus | Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches against Byzantium. Demosthenes carries his hill for reforming the trier-   |
| 339 } |        |              |   |

|       |       |            |              |   |   |  |  |
|-------|-------|------------|--------------|---|---|--|--|
| 339   | 8     | 110.2      | Lysimachides | Aid voted to Byzantium at Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Athens, and Charon is sent to assist them. They refuse to receive him in the city, and Phocion is substituted. Demosthenes induces the Athenians to vote that Philip had broken the peace, and they send aid to Olynthus, thereby causing him to raise the siege and return home. He is given the command against the Locrians, and advancing towards them, captures Elateia. Demosthenes carries a law authorizing a treaty with Thebes a few days before. | Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Python to become the allies of Athens. The war then commences. Charon defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at Cheronaea, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lysicles to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia. | Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Aschines. Philip, having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra. | Philip, while celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Epirus at Edessa, is murdered by Pausanias, and Alexander succeeds in his twentieth year. Active measures taken to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and embassies sent to all Greece, and to Attalians in Asia to revolt from Alexander. |
| 337-6 | 110.4 | Phrynicus. |              |   |   |  |  |
| 336   | 5     | 111.1      | Pythodemus   |   |   |  |  |

| h. c. | OLYMP. | ATHON.      |
|-------|--------|-------------|
| 335.5 | 111.1  | Pythodorus  |
| 335-4 | 111.2  | Eutenes.    |
| 334-3 | 111.3  | Ctesicles.  |
| 330 { | 112.3  | Aristophon. |
| 329   |        |             |
| 324-3 | 114.1  | Hegesias.   |
| 323-2 | 114.2  | Cypionotus. |

Alexander at Thermopylae is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Thessaly, and across the Bambi; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lysander and Hyprides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.

Alexander crosses into Asia and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Perdiccas intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Cleophon proposed in Ol. 110. 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Eubulus deliver their speeches *De Crotone* in the early part of the year. Eubulus is defeated and retires to Rhodes. Macedon is sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Hatpalus arrives at Athens, is condemned by Antipater, governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of five talents, and being unable, flies to Megara, and thence to Thrace, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.

Alexander being dead, the Athenian and other States of Greece by means of their envoys, sent to the Peloponnesus, and Lestheneis is chosen general. Aegina joins the envoy to Peloponnesus. On his return to Epeorus, a truce is sent, on motion of Demades, to take him back to Athens, where his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.

322-1 114.3 Philocles.

After various skirmishes, in one of which Leosthenes is defeated and slain, Antipater meets the allied army at Crannon, and gains a victory which is rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 322. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeraeus are seized in the temple of Faecus in Egina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonea are there put to death, but Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B.C. 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription :

Εἰπερ ἵσην πόλεμον γνῶμην, Δημόσθερες, εἰχει,  
οὐποτ' ἀν Ελλήνων ηρξεν Αρης Μάκεδων.



## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

### ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

*Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολίῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φεύγεται σὺν εὐχήσασιν εἰς ἐκδηλωτὴν ἀθεμιτήσιν. ὁ τοίνυν ἥγανθος τὴν τε ἀπομα- πειράται ποίειν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ἥρθεντες κεκρίτη- ται, αὐτοὶ εἰσιγειταὶ τοις ἀνθρώποις τῷ πολίῳ προστελθεῖσιν. καὶ εἰ εἴ- δε διὸ δημιουρεῖ παρασελίσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μίσω, ποίειται, οὐτοις μίκην μέρην σα πρὸς τὰς κατὰς καιρὸν ληρίας ἐποιος ἐπάρξει, ἐπίρητος δὲ ἐγένετο, οὐτοις διπλῶν τῶν στρατευομένων, παραιεῖται μέρην δὲ καὶ πούλη- των, καὶ εἰ εἴ τοι Ἀθηναῖοι μένειν μῆδε ἐν τῷ πολίῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βουλεύεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέψασθαι ποίειται μέρη- ζειτων, οὐταντὶ τοῦ ἐπιστροφῆς πινόπτας ἐπιτηδεύση τὸ Φίλιππος ἡ καὶ τὸν λευκόντα ἡ τὰ Αθηναῖον τοῖς Μακεδονίαν πένειν οὐδενατόρ, ἐπι- λειπούσης πρὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοις τὴν ἀπονοματικὴν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάν- των κρατῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐγένετο ἡ πρὸς αἵτοις ἀντιταξούμενη διτανικὴ ἑπάνων.*

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Εἰ μὲν περὶ καιροῦ τίνος πράγματος προούτιθετο, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἀντὶ ἔως οἱ πλεῦστοι τῶν εἰσιθότων γρύμην ἀπεφίγαντο, εἰ μὲν ἥρεσκέ τέ μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἥμιθέντων, ἡσυχίᾳν ἀντὶ ἥργον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἀντὸς ἐπειρώμην ἀ γυρνότεκνοι λέγειν ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὅν πολλάκις εἰρήκασμι οὗτοι πρότεροι τιναβούντει καὶ τινὲς σκοπεῦν, ἥργονται καὶ πρῶ- τος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἀντὶ συγγρύμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πιρειδηλυθότος χρήματος τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἀν ὑμᾶς τινὲς ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἀθηναῖτέον, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδὲν εἰ πάντα φαινόμενος ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὁ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῖς πιρειδηλυθότος ληρίου, τοῦτο πρὸς

τοι γελλάστι βέλτιστοι ἵπαχοι, τοι οὐδὲ ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι  
οὐδὲν διδοτε, Ἀθηναῖ, τοι εἰπον ποιῶστιν οὐδὲν κακόν  
οι πρόγραμμα γινεῖται τοῦτο οὐ πιστός ποιεῖται οὐτοις  
εὔχεται, οὐδὲ δικαίος ἡ οὐτική πελτία γενεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ ἐπιμέτρεται  
καὶ πορφύρα μάνισται καὶ τοῦς εἴσαιται ποταῖς διαμημορ-  
μένους, ἥπερ τοι ἔχοντα διηριτεῖται Λικέινονται, ἐξ οὐ-  
χούς οὐ πολλούς. οὐ πολλούς καὶ πραγμάτων οὐδὲν μάλιστα  
ἔρει, ἐπειδή τοις πολλοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐπεισίτε οὐτοι, τον Τελλυ-  
ρινούς εἰσιν τοις πολλοῖς διέλυται πόλεμοι. τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔσκει  
τοις λέγει; οὐ εἰ τοι, οὐδέποτε Ἀθηναῖ, καὶ διαγνοῦτε οὐτι  
εἰ τοις φοιτηταῖς οὐδὲν ἐστι φοιτεῖν οὐτοι, οὐδὲ γνωρίτε,  
ποιεῖται οὐδὲν οὐδὲν θελεῖτε, παριστέρησται χαρίσται τοῦ  
τοῦτο οὐδὲν τοις Λικέινονται, οὐ δεμοτεῖται οὐ τοῖς προτέραιοι  
τοῖς πρόγραμμα τοις πολλοῖς, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲν ποτε ποτε, οὐδὲν προ-  
τότιται οὐ τοῖς μονάδασιν οὐδὲν. οὐ τοις λέγει, οὐ-  
δέποτε Ἀθηναῖ, διαπολέμηστο οὐτοι τοῖς φειδεπτοῖς σινοῖς,  
οὐ τοις τοι τοι πλέοντας τοῖς θεοροχοῖς τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τοι  
τοι χρυσοῖς εἰσαὶ μπολιλέσσαι τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγει, μὲν πέται, λογο-  
ποιότητος γένεται τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ἔχεινται τοτε ἥρηται, οὐδέποτε Ἀθηναῖ,  
Πειραιῶν οὐδὲν πολέμησται Μεσσηνοῖς καὶ πάτηται τοις τοῖς ποτε τοι  
τοι πολεμούσινδι, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦτο μετ' ἐκείνοις τοῦτον θεοῖς  
οὐδὲν εἰσαὶ θεοῖς καὶ θεότητοι οὐδὲν γένεται καὶ πάλλοι θεοῖς ἔβοι-  
λετοί θεοῖς οὐδὲν θεούσινδι, οὐδὲν πολεμησται τοῖς αἰτοῖς χάρας ἔργοντον  
προμηθέατο, οὐδὲν ἀν δι τοις ποτείρωνται οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ τοσαῖ-  
τοις λεπτούσι δύναμις. οὐδὲν οὐδὲ, οὐδέποτε Ἀθηναῖ, ποτε  
πολλοῖς εἰσιν. οὐτοι τοις μονάδασιν οὐδὲν τοις χρυσοῖς μονάδασιν τοι  
τοῖς μπόντοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθελιντοι ποιεῖν καὶ κυδυνεῖν τὰ τοῦ  
ἀμελούτου. καὶ γέρ τοι ταύτη χρητάμενος τοῦ γνώριζ πάντα  
κατέστρωται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν πολέμω, τὰ

δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλια πουργίμειος. καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν ιοῦν τοίτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαντεῖ. οὐδὲ δὲ οὐ παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ὅτελος τις ἀ ληῆ. ἀντὶ τούτου, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἴμεις ἐπὶ τῆς τοιίτης ἐνελίγητε γενέσθαι γνώμης ιῦν, ἐπειδίπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἐκποτος ἴμειν, οὐ δέη καὶ δίναιτ' ἀν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν δφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἔποιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ. ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύειν,—συνελόντι οὐ ἀπλῆς εἰπεῖν. ἀν ιῦν αὐτῶν ἐνελίγητε γειέσθαι καὶ παύγησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκαπτος πουργεῖν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πληρίσιον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν. καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἀν θεὸς θέλημ, καὶ τὰ κατεργάθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεισθε, κάκεινον πιμπρήστετθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ ιημίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα. ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον καὶ δέδιεν. ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάντων ιῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔη, ταῦτα καν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κιτέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα ιῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βριδυτῆτα καὶ βαθύμιαν, ἥν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῦν ἥδη. δρᾶτε γὰρ, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ προελίλυτεν ἀγελεγέναις ἀνθρωποι, οὐδὲ αἴρεστιν ὑμῖν διδωσι τοῦ πρίττειν ἥ ἄγειν ἡρεχθίαι, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, οὐ φυτεῖ, λέγει, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐστιν ἔχων ἀ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ παταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότερον οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἀ χρῆ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν ιῦν Διὸς ἀνάγκη τις γένεται. ιῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γυνιώμενα ἡρευτῆται: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι τοῦς ἐλευθέρους μερίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοχθόνην εῖναι. ἥ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περινήστε αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἀν τι κινότερον ἥ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἐλλήγων διηκῶν; τέτηγκε Φιλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δῖ, ἀλλ' ἀστειαῖ. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει: καὶ γὰρ ἀν οὐτάς τι πάθη, ταχέστης ἔτερος Φιλιππον πουίτετε, ἀπερ οὐτο πρωτέχητε τοῖς πρίγματι τοῖς νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐτο παρὰ τὴν αἵτινα σύμμητον ἐπηγένηται δοτον παρὰ τὴν ἡμέτερην ὀμέλειν. καίτην καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ὑμῖν ἵπάρξαι, ἡπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἡ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐξεργάσαιο, ὅτι πληρών μὲν οἵτες, ἀπασιν ἀν τοῖς πρίγματι τεταγμένοις ἐπιτάγντες ὅπως βιόλεσθε δικινούσθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδάγντον τὸν καιρὸν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐξασθαι διδάγντον· ἀν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γιόμαις.

Ως μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ πραγμάτη ποιεῖν ὑέλοντας ἵπάρχειν ὑπαντας ἐποίησος, ὡς ἐγενεκτον ὑμῶν καὶ πεπειρένων παιδαρια λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς θη ἀπαλλάξαι ἀν τοῦ τοιότον πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οὐ μη, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅτον· καὶ πόρονσ οὗστιας χρημάτων, καὶ τάλλα ὃς ἀν μη βελτιστα καὶ τάχυτα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθαι, καὶ ἐη πειράσματι λέγει, δειπλεῖς ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄλιμος Ἀθηναῖ, τισμῶν. ἐπειδὴν ὑπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδὲ ἀν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ την καιρὸν παρασκευὴν λέγει, διαβάλλει με τὰ πράγματα ἱηεύσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τίμεροι εἰπόντες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγονται· οἱ γὰρ ἀν τὰ γε ἥδη γεγενημένα τῇ ιωνί βιοθείᾳ κωλύται δινηθείμεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δεῖγε τὸς πορνοθεῖστα παρασκευὴ καὶ πάση καὶ πάθειν διαμεῖναι δινήστεται, ἔως ἀν ἡ διαλεγόμενη πειτέρες τὸν πόλεμον ἡ περιγενεύεσθα τῶν ἔχθρῶν· οἵτοι γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λαοπον πάτριμον ἀν κυκῶν. οἵραι τούτων ἐγένοντα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύται εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεσται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀποτελεσματιστικόν μεγάλη τὸ δε πράγμα ἡδη τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖται· κριταὶ διάρεις ἀποτελεσματιστικόν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τούτων, διάρεις Ἀλεξανδρεῖ, τριήρεις πεντήκοντα παρασκευίσασθαι φημι δεῖ. εἰδὲ αὐτοὶ εἰπο τὸ γέροντος ἔχει οὐδε, εἰδὲ τι δέη, πλεοντέον εἰς τοιανας αὐτοῖς εὐθάνατον.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίγεοι τῶν ἵππέων ἵππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖα ἵκανὰ εὐτρεπίται κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οὖμα δεῦν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξαιφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χόρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερμόνησον καὶ Ὀλυμπὸν καὶ ὅποι βούλεται· δεῦν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γηώμῃ παραστῆται, ὃς ὑμεῖς ἔκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὃσπερ εἰς Εὔβοιαν καὶ πρότερον ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην εἰς Πύλας, ὃς τοῦτο ἀν δριμήσαιτε. οὕτω παὶ τελῶς οὐδὲ εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἀν τοῦτο, ὃς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῦν, εὐκαταθρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἢν ἡ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὸς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς—εἴτεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς. εἰτὶ γὰρ, εἰσὶν μὲν πάντ' ἔξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος—ἥτιναν ἔχει, ἢ παριδὸν ταῦτα ἀφέλακτος ληφθῆ, μηδενὸς δύντος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραιν ὑμῖν, ἀν ἐνδῷ καιρόν. ταῦτα μέντοι ἐστιν ἀ πάσι δεῦνχθαι φημὶ δεῦν καὶ παρεστκενάτθαι πρωτήκειν οὖμα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δύναμίν τινα, ὃ ἄγρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι δεῦν ὑμᾶς, ἢ συιεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μή μοι μυρίους μηδὲ διγμιυρίους ἔστους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολημαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐσται, καὶν ὑμεῖς ἔνα καὶν πλείους καὶν τὸν δεῦτρα καὶν δύτινον χειρωτονίστητε στρατηγὸν, τούτῳ πείστεται καὶ ἀκολονθήσει. καὶ τριφήν ταίτη πορύται κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὐτῇ τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τίνη τριφήν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσται ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἔκαστοι τούτων διεξόντων χωρίς. ἔστους μὲν λέγω—καὶ δῆπος μὴ ποιήστε δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὲς ἔβλαψεν. πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἴναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι αἴροντες, ἐπὶ τῷ πρίττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιέτε. ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσατες καὶ πορίσατες τούτοις πρωτίσθετε, ἀν ἐλάττω φαίνηται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίων, τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῦν εἴραι παντακοσίους. ἔξ οὐδὲ τοιούς ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν διεγή, χρίτων τακτὸν στρατευμένους. μὴ μικρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅποι ἀν διεκῆ κιλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-

χῆς ἄλλήλοις. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξέιους εἶναι κελείω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἵππεας διακοσίους, καὶ τοίτων πειτήκοντα Ἀθηναίους τούλαχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευμένους. καὶ ἵππαγωγὸν τούτοις. εἰεν τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα. δεῖ γὰρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ταυτικὸν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, δῆτας ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέγ. πότεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφὴ γενήγεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδὴν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οὖμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευμένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

Τοσαίτην μὲν, ὃ ἄιδης Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα, δῆτι οὐκ ἔντινοι ἡμῖν πορίνασθαι δίαιριν τὴν ἐκείνῳ παριταξιμένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου ληῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην. οὐ τούτῳ ἵπέρωγκον αὐτὴν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μικτὸς οὐδὲ τροφὴ, οὐδὲ παιτελῶς ταπειήν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, δῆτι καὶ πρίτερον ποτ' ἀκούω ἔνεικον τρέφειν ἐν Κορύθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Πολύτρατος ἥγετο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαρβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοὶς ἡμῖν συστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ οὖδα ἀκούων δῆτι Λακεδαιμονίους παριτυπόμενοι μετ' ὑμῶν ἐιίκον οὐτοὶ οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνοις. οὐδὲ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔνεικὰ ὑμῖν στρατείεται, τοὺς φίλους τικῆς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐ δ' ἐχθρὸν μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγίναστι. καὶ παρικινύντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πατριχῷ μῆλλον οὔχεται πλέοντα, δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ εἰκότως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀρχεῖον μῆδις οὐδὲ τὸ οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προστίτεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μικτὸν πορέτωτας καὶ στριτυτις οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγομένων παρικινύντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔτιθεντος χορόμεθα τοῦς πρίγματα. εἰ γὰρ ἔμπτό τις ἡμῖν, εἰρήνη γράγετε, ὃ ἄιδης Ἀθηναῖοι; μὴ Δέδοισι οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴπειτο μὲν, ἄλλοι Φιλίπποι πολεμάσσονται. οὐδὲ εἰσιντεῖτε δέ εἴδη ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξίσχυσις καὶ στριτηγοῖς καὶ φυλάρχοις καὶ ἵππάρχοις διό; τέ οὖν οὗτοι ποιῶντες; πλὴγενέστε;

ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἀντικτέμπητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν ὁσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίγους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἔχρηι, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ὄρχατας οἰκείους εἶναι ἢν' ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δίτασις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῦν, τῶν δ' ἵππερ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μεγέλασιν ἵππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεριφύμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἀντὶ οὗ.

\*Ισως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὄρθως ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τούντιν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφὴ, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταίτη, τάλαντα ἐνεγίκοιτα, καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ταυτὶ ταχείας τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μιαῦ τοῦ μηρὸς ἐκάπτου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίους τοσαῦθ' ἔτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηρὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῦς δ' ἵππεντι διακοσίους ὅστιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἔκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηρὸς, δῶροικοι τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατέυομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὄρθως ἔγνωκει. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σιφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἀντὶ γένηται, προσπορεῖ τὰ λοιπά αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πυλέμον, οὐδέτερα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστε ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. κάγκη δὲ συρπλέων ἐθελοῖτης πάτερει διτοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ' οὐτῶς ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν δι πόροις τῶν χρημάτων, ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύων γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ηδη λέξω.

### ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

\*Α μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνάμεθα εἰρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἔστιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐπιχειροτονῆτε τὰς γρύπας, ἢν ἦμῖν ἀρέσκῃ χειροπονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίγμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιτπολαῖς πολεμήστε φιλίαποι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου.

Δικεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρατεκέντης βιωλείας τιμαί, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὃ ἦ: διὸς Ἀθηναῖν, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐιθνητείητε, καὶ λογίσιμοι οὖτι τοῖς πιεύματι καὶ ταῖς ὄφαις τοῖς ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλημβάνοντι διαποτίττεται Φύλιππος καὶ φυλάξις τὰς ἐπηρίας ἢ τὸν χαιρῶντα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥντικ' ἀν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖστε ἀφικέτθαι. οὐδὲ τιμώντα ταῦτα ἐιθερ νηέοντος μὴ βιωθείας πολεμεῖν, ὑπεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῆ συνεχεῖ καὶ διείματι. ἐπάρχει δὲ ἡμῖν χαιρῶντα μὲν χρῆ: θεοὶ τῷ δυνάμει Λῆμνῳ καὶ Θίρῳ καὶ Σκούθῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πάπω τίττοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ στίποις καὶ ἡ χολή στριτείαντι πίνθεται, ἐπάρχει, τὴν δὲ ὄφρα τοῦ ἔτους, οὗτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν γενέσται σύδην καὶ τὸ τῶν πιεύμάτων ἀνθυλές, πρὸς αὐτῆς τῇ χέρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

“Λ μὲν ὅτε χοήτεται καὶ πίτε τῇ δινέομεν, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτοις κίριος κατατετύπεις δέ: διηνέ βιωλείεστι: δέ δὲ ἐπάρχει δεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν, ταῦτα ἔστιν ἢ ἔχει γέγραφα. ἀν ταῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίτητε τὸ χρίματα πρῶτον ἀλέγοντες, εἴτα καὶ ταῦτα παριτκευόμαστες, τοὺς στριτώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ιππέας, ἵπποις πάσοι τῷ θέλαιμα, τόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένετε, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ παρίσταντες, καὶ πορισταὶ γηγενέας, τῶν δὲ πρύτανος παρὰ τοῦ στριτηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦτες, παίστετε δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βιωλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιεῦτες, καὶ ἐπὶ πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰν μέρη τῶν ἔκείσου πόρων ἀφιτρήσασθε. ἔστι δὲ ὅπος τίς: ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡμῖν πολεμεῖσθαι τυρρανίαν, ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες τοὺς πλέοντας τῷ τιμωλίττων. ἐπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ: τοῦ πάσχεντος αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσετεθε, οὐδὲ ὅτι περ τοὺς παρελθόντα λόγιον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἰρήσην ἐμβαλίνεις αὐχμημαλτοντας πλέοντας ἴριτον, φάστεντος τοῦ Παριστηγοῦ τὸ πλάια σιναλαβίλαν ἀριστερά χωρίωντες, τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον τὸ Μαρτίνον ἐπέβη καὶ τῷ ιερῷ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας γῆστεν ἔχει-

τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὕτε ταῦτα δίτασθε κωλύειν οὐτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἀν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δίποτε, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παταθηραίων ἑυρτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διογυτίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἀν τε δειποὶ λάχωσιν ἀν τε ἴδιωται οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρωι ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἀ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδὲ εἰς ἔνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ οὐδὲ εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασὰς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα τόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόσοιδεν ἐκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χωρῆσθαι τὴν φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαζόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἥμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἀτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἀμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἰτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἰτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προσαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἀν ἐκπλέωμεν. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευίζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἥμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἀς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον διημειεις οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ἐπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οὐαί τ' οὐσται ποιεῦν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὃ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλίγλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἥδη τουαίτας ἐπιστολάς.

### ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Τούτων, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωτρένων ἀληθῆ μέν ἐπι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς οὐκ ἔσει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑπος οὐχ ἥδαί ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἔτι ἀν τις ἐπερβάζει τῷ λόγῳ, ὥστα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπερβήστεαι, δεῖ πρὸς ἥδην δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἀν οὐδὲ μὴ προτίκων τα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται,

αἰσχρόν ἐστι φευκίζειν ἐντοῦς, καὶ ἀποτίναιοντες  
 ἀνὴρ ἢ δυτικὴν πάντων διπερεῖν τὸν ἔργον, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο  
 δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὄρθως πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ  
 ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι, ὥλλας αὐτοὺς ἐμπροσθεῖν εἴναι τῶν  
 πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διπερεῖν τὸν στρατευμάτων  
 ἀξιωτείε τις ἀν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ εὐτηνούστω καὶ τὸν πραγ-  
 μάτων τοὺς βουλευτέμενος, ἵνα δὴν ἐκείνοις δικῆ, τάπτα πρά-  
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα μηγκάζεται διέκειν. ἴμεις δὲ,  
 ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πλειστῷ διέτην ἀποτελεῖται ἐχεῖτες τριή-  
 ρεις, διπλίταις, ἵππεις, χωρίσται προσθια, τοῖς μὲν μέχι  
 τῆς τύμφερον ἡμέρας οὐδεὶς πόντοπε εἰς δέκα τι κέχρητος, οὐδεὶς  
 δὲ ἀπολείπεσθε, διπερεῖν δι βάρβαροι πικτεύονται, οὗτοι πολεμεῖν  
 Φιλίππων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δι πληρεῖς ἔχεται.  
 καὶ ἔτεροι πατέρες τις ἐκεῖτε εἴται οὐ χειρεῖς προβιβλεύεται  
 δὲ η βλέπειν ἐναντίων αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἔθελει. καὶ ἔρεις ἀν ἐν  
 Χελμούγητο πίθητε Φίλιππον. ἐκεῖτε βιβλεῖν Σηρίζεται, ἐὰν  
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖτε, ἐὰν ἄλλοτε ποιῶν συμπαρισθεῖτε ἄποι κάποιον  
 καὶ στρατηγεῖτε μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνον, βεβαίως εὐτείτε δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν  
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προστρ-  
 ἀτε οὐδὲν πρὸν ἀν ἡ γεγονημένη ἡ γρηγορεῖται πιθητεί.  
 ταῦτα δὲ τοις πρότερον μὲν ἐνηρτεῖν δὲ δὲπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ τὴν  
 ἀκμὴν, ἀπτὸν οὐκέτι ἐγλαυκοῦ. ὁ καὶ δέ μοι θεῖται τοις δὲ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γυρνόμενοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰτιωνάρχεμος τὴν  
 φιλοπραγματίην ταῖτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίπποι. εἰ γὰρ ἔχειν ἀ  
 κιτέστραπται καὶ προσληφθεῖσιν ἔχειν ἔργον καὶ μηδὲν  
 ἐπριπτεν ἔτι, ἀποχῆρη ἀλλας ἔργον δὲ μοι ἐκεῖ δεῖ ἀντιχείρη  
 καὶ ἀναδρύσαι καὶ πάντα τὸ αἰτιωτον ἐγλησάτες ἀν ἡμερῶν δροσία.  
 τοῦ δὲ ἐπιχειρῶν δεῖ τοις καὶ τοῦ πλεονασμούς αἰτιωνάρχε-  
 μενος ἀν ἐκκαλέστιν ἡρᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντόπτειν ἀπεργίσατε.  
 θαυμάζω δὲ ἐγωγέ, εἰ μὲν διειργῆται μέτε δημοσίε-  
 ται, δρῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ μὲν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου  
 γεγενημένη περὶ τοῦ συμμορίσασθαι Φίλιππον, τῷ δὲ τελευ-

τὴν οὐσιαν ἥδη ὑπὲρ τὸν μὴ παντεῖν κακόν τὸν Φιλίππων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γένει στρατεῖται, οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ τις καλότερος. εἰτα τοῦτον ἀναμενούμεν, καὶ τριήμεις καιάς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δένος ἐλπίδας ἄντας προστείλετε, πάντα τὸν ἔχειν πάσιν κακόν; οὐκέτι ἐργάζομεθα; οὐκέτι ἔχουμεν αἰτοῦ μέρει γέτων στρατιωτῶν εἰκασίαν οὐκέτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκέτι τὴν ἐκείνην πλευτόμενην, πολὺ οὖν πρωτορυμούμεθα; ἥρετό τις. εἰρίσει τὰ ματήρας, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πρωγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πάλεμος, οὐκέπιχαρδεται. ἀντί μέντοι καθόμεθα οὐκον, λαδηραρέων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτωμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεοντῶν. ὅποι μὲν γάρ ἀντί, οἴμαι, μέρος τητῆς πάλεως συναποσταλῆ, καὶ μὴ πᾶσα παρῆ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὑμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δέ ἀν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφιστρα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τῶν δεοντῶν γέρεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνάπι τῷ δέει τοὺς ταῦτας ἀποτελοῦσι. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἔνα μέτρον δυ. ηγεμονία ποτε ταῦτα ἡμῖν πρᾶξαι πάνθ' ὅτα βούλεσθε. ἐπιστένθι μάτι τοι καὶ φῆμι καὶ τὸν δέναν αἰτιάντασθαι καὶ τὸν δέναν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλατλεν. ὅταν γάρ ἡρῆται μὲν δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δέ ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄν ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι μόνιμος ἐντιδόντες, ἵρεις δέ δὲ ἄν ἀκούσητε ὁ τι ἄν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τέ καὶ χρῆ μπροστικῶν;

Ἔνος οὖν ταῦτα παίστεται; ὅταν ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μόρτυρες τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀκούοντας καὶ δικαστὰς οἰκαδὸν ἐλθόντας τῶν εἰσιντῶν, ἔπειτε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον τὰ ἥμέτεράν των, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας δρᾶν. νῦν δέ εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πρόγματα αἰσχύνης ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔκαστος δῆς καὶ τρὶς κρίνεται πορτόν ἡμῖν περὶ θυντῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδὲς οὐδὲ ἄποιξις αὐτῶν ἀγελάτατην περὶ θυντῶν τολμῆι, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀδρεπιστάτων καὶ λαπτιστῶν θύντων μᾶλλον αἰροῦσται τοῦ πρωτέου τοις. κακούργησο μὲν γάρ ἔστε κρι-

θέντ' ἀποθινεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μιχήμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιώντες μετὰ Λικεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πρύτανι τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυστιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπάν, οἱ δὲ δισ πρέσβετες πέπομφεν ὡς βιτιλέα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάτωτες ἐκιστος περιειχόμενα. Ἐργὸς δὲ οἵμην μὲν, ὃ ἀιδηνὲς Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνοι μεθίσιεν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιοῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γηώμῃ, τὴν τὸν ἐρημιάν τῶν καλλιρόντων δράστα καὶ τοὺς πεπραγμένους ἐπιγράμενον, οὐ μάτιοι γε μὰ Δέοντο πρωτεῦσθαι πρύτανι ὡς τε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τι μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος ἀνοητοτάτοις γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογιπανῶντες. ἀλλ' ἀν δρέπτες ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι εἰδῆμεν, ὅτι ἔχοντες ἀθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποπτερεῖ καὶ χράσου πολὺ οὐβρικε, καὶ ἀπανθ' ὅστα πώποτε ἡλπισαμέν τινα πράξειν ἵπερ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὑρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ μὴν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθέδεις ἵπερ ἀναγκαπθῆσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἀν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγους ματαίων ἀπηλλαγήσοντες οὐ γὰρ ἀπτα ποτε ἐσται δὲ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰδὲ μὴ προσέχητε τὸν τοῦν καὶ τὰ προτίκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εἰ δέδει.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτέ ἄλλοτε πάποτε πρὸς χήριν εἰλόμην λέγειν δι τι ἀν μὴ καὶ συνάστει ἡμῖν πεπειρένεις οὐδὲν τε ἀγγειότακτο πάνθ' ἀπλᾶς, οὐδὲν ἐπειτελίμενος, πεποιητιστρι. ἐβουλίμην δὲ ἀν, ὅπερ ὅτι ἡμῖν στρατέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούσιδι, οὐτοῖς εἰδέναι στρατόν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπότι. πολλῷ γὰρ δὲ ἡδονὴ ἀποτελεῖται. οὐτέ δέ ἀδέλαις αἵτινας τοῖς διπλῶντος ἡμιντῷ γε φτονέσσι, ὅμως ἐστὶ τῷ στρατόντες ἡμῖν, ἀν πριξητε. ταῦτα πεπειρθαι λέγειν αἴρομεν ταρη δὲ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

### ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Η**αρανετ διὰ τούτον τοῦ ἡδον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ἥρτωρ πολέμιοι ἵποπτείεντι τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ πάντα πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐχείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν τοῦ τοις πραγματι καὶ εὐν τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸ πόλεμον. ἐπιβούλεύειν γάρ αἰτιᾶται καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πάσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αἰτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῖς. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τιὰς πρέσβεις ἡκαταῖ, ἀποφύτωται τῷ Ἀθηναίων ὅ τι ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πότε δὲ αἱ αἱτίαι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἱκονιν, ἐν τῷ ἡδῷ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δε τῶν Φίλιππικῶν ἰστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γάρ τούτον τὸν κατόντιν ἐπεμψει πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιῶντος ὅτι διαβάλλονται αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγείλαντον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, φευσάντων δέ, οὐδὲν γάρ ἐπειχθῆναι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐφ ἰσται, καὶ περὶ τοιτῶν ἴχεγκοντος ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐπεμψαν δὲ ματὰ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀργεῖον καὶ Μεσσήνην πρίσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιῶνται καὶ οἱ τοῦ τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους καταδούλουμένους τὴν Πελοπόνησον εὗνον τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολιμούσιν ἐγαπιῶνται. ἀποροῖσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις. πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εἴναι μὲν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τὸν Ἀργεῖον καὶ Μεσσήνην μετὰ Φίλιππον σίστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ἵποπτείονται, οὐ μὴ ἀποδίδοσθαι δικασταῖ δικαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι δημιρτήκαστι μὲν ὣν ἴχεται, οὐ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνον γε αἰτοῦ δικαιούσιν ἐξηπατησθαι. οἵτε γάρ τοῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγεῖλαιρ οἱ δημιαὶ, οἵτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων προσκειν ἐπωήσατο τινεῖς πόλεσται, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς ἡσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς ἐπίδια καταστῆσαι τοῖς Φίλιππος Φωκαίας σόσαι καὶ τὴν Οἰνοίαν οἱ λητούσι τοῖς δια τοῖς τοῦ ὁ Δημοσθένης τοὺς ἀπομενούσιν περιέβη. οἵτατα γάρ τοι μὲν αἰτίαις διάτοι, φησι δὲ δικαιούσιν ἡ τοὺς τὴν δεσμοφυλακας τοποθετούσις εἰσιται, καὶ τοὺς ἀπομενούσις ἀπατησανται, τοὺς ἀπατησανται τοις, τοῖς δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φίλιππω Ηέλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχύλον

μινιππεται, πινκαπασκεναζόμενος. ὡς οὖν τὴν εἰτ αὐτοῦ κατηγοριαν τὴν παραπρεσβειαν, ἦν ἐπιτερον ἐνεστήσιτο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

"Οτιο, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γέγραπται περὶ ἐν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἵνε τὸν ἵπερ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλαθρόποτος δρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγει μὲν ἀπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέσματα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φίλιππον, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δειπτῶν οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔγκα ταῦτα ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἤδη προηγμένα τεγχάνει πάντα τὰ πρίγματα τῇ πόλει ὡς τῇ ὀπώ τις ἀν μᾶλλον καὶ φαινερότερον ἐξελέγχει Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἴμνας εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβιβλεῖσθα, τοιούτῳ τὸ τέλον ποιεῖν συμβιβλεῖσθαι χαλεπίτερον εἶαι. αἴτιον δὲ τούτοις, ὅτι πάντας, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ξηροῦντας ἔργῳ κωλίσιες καὶ πράξεις, οὐχὶ λόγους δέοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέταρει, καὶ γρίφεις καὶ συμβιβλείσιεν, τὴν πρὸς ἴμνας ἀπέχθειαν ὀκτοῦντες, οὐτε ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δειπνὰ καὶ χαλεπά, καὶ τοιοῦτο ἐνεργόριεται. ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ κατήγοροι, ὡς μὲν ἀν ἀποτελεσθεῖσιν λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλον στείρητε, ἡρευον Φίλιππον παρακείμασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλίσιον τὸ ἐκεῖνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐντοτῆς, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα διαγράμμα, οὐδαὶ καὶ ὕστος εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἐκόπερτο διατρίβεται καὶ περὶ σπουδῆστε, ταῦτα ἀριστον ἐκοτέρους ἔχει, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οἱ πρόστις, ἥπτη δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται δικαιότερα ἡρευόμενοι, μέσον καὶ πόνος οὐτούς εἰς πράττεσθαι τῷ πρίγματι· εἰ δὲ ὅπως τὰ παρόντα ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προσέλθει τοιούτοις ἐπι περίστατο λίγα ταῦτα ἡμεῖς, μηδὲ ἐπιπράττειν μέρεσθαι διάρτεις πρὸς ἡν οὐδὲ μέτρημα διατελέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ τρίπον οὐταρει πρόστις τοῖς βαλεσθεῖσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λεπτοῖς

σιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούοντιν ἴμμιν τὰ βελτιστὰ καὶ τὰ σόσοιται τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θηρέει ὅρων ἡλίκις ἥδη καὶ ὅσων κύριος ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδέται οἴεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδὲ ἐφ' ἴμμας πάντα παρασκευίζεσθαι θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆται πάντων ὅμοίως ἴμμων βούληματι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦνται μονι διὰ βραχέων, διὸ οὖς τάγαρτία ἐρὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ διὸ διὰ ἔχθρὸν ἱγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἔαν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἀν δὲ οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ τούνν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων δὲ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρίσατο; ὁ Θηβαῖος συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἀ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί διγποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάντ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδὲ ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, ἔλε τοῦτο δρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἀν ἐδείξατο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειν, ὑφ' οὐ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ὀφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἐλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πάντ' ἀ προσήκει προορύμενοι, ὅμοίως ἐναπιώσεσθε, ἀν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῆτε πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Θηβαῖονς ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπά ἔάσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἀν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ τὸν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ταῦτα ὑπειληφὼς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ἴμμων ἐγκώμιον, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κέκριτθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἀν κέρδους τὰ κοιτά δίκαια τῶν Ἐλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδὲ ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδὲ ὀφελείας τῇρ εἰς τοὺς Ἐλληνας εῖνοιαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰσίτος καὶ περὶ ἑρᾶτος ἐπέλιπε καὶ κατ' Ἀργεῖον  
καὶ Θηβαῖον ὁ ἐπέριος, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν παράπτω τῆν, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λαγῳόμενος. εὑρίσκει γάρ, εἰριτι, καὶ  
ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ἐμετέθους προγόνους, ἔξοιτοις τῶν λαπτῶν  
ἄρχεις Ἑλλήνων. Οὗτοί πάντοις ἐποκλειοῦσι τοικελέ, οὐ μόνον  
οὐκ ἀποχρέωτος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡγάντιον Ἀλέξανδρος  
οἱ τούτου πρόγονοι περὶ τούτον καὶ τοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χάριν  
ἐκδιπέντε προελαύνουσι καὶ παθεῖν δυοῖν τοικελέντας, καὶ  
μετὰ τοῦτο προβάτις ταῦτα πάντας μὲν δεῖ γλίχειν λέγειν,  
ἀξίος δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴπειν θεοῦ γεται. οὐτεπει τούτῳ παρελεῖθος ἐκπίνων  
(ἔστι γάρ μετεπάκεινον ἔργον ἢ ὃς τῷ λόρρῳ τις ἦν εἴπει), τοὺς δὲ  
Θηβαῖούς καὶ Ἀργεῖού προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συγγενεῖς τοικελέ  
τῷ βαρβιτύρῳ τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐμπιστέντας. οὐδεν δὲν ἀμφοτέρους  
ἴση τῷ λαυτελοῦ ἀγνοοῦστας, οὐδὲ ὃ τοικελέντες κομῆτοι τοὺς  
Ἑλλητούς εἰπεῖν. ἡγέτης οὐδὲ, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ φίλῳ τοι  
ἔστι τοὺς δικαίους αἰρέσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἐκείνους προσθέσθαι, σπερ  
γάσ εἶται τοὺς αἰτοῦ πλευραῖς οὐ. εἰδὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνους διεῖται  
καὶ τόπε καὶ τοῦ αἰρέσθαι οὐ γάρ δικ τριηρεις γε δικ πλείους  
αἰτοῦς ἡ ἐργα τοσούς οὐδὲ μὲν τῷ μετρητῷ τούτῳ ἀρχήν εὑρικε,  
τοὺς δὲ τοῦ τοικελέττος καὶ τοῦ ἐργασίας ἀφέστησεν οὐδὲ ἀμφι  
μονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, εἰσὶ οὖτε τοὺς ἀφίηται  
ἔτυχεν.

Ἄλλα τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῖς δια τοῦ πάντα ταῦτα εἴδεις, οὐ πλέ  
οντεῖς ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἰπεῖν τοῦτα ταῦτα ἐπράξει. ἀλλὰ  
τῷ εἰσιθεροῦ τοὺς Θηβαῖους ἡ ἐργα δέμοις. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
μόνον πάντα τὰ λόγοι οὐδὲ λαυταὶ αἰτοῦ τοῦ αἰτοῦ. οὐ γάρ  
Μεττίπορος Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμφίπολις κελεύον ποὺς δὲ Ορχο  
μερία καὶ Κορίνθιον τοὺς Θηβαῖους πομποῖς τῷ δικαίῳ πομπ  
ζειν ταῦτα εἴναι πεποιηκέρατο σκίψατο;

Ἄλλα ἔβασισθη τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦτα γάρ διεῖται ἐπαλλαγέας καὶ  
πιπή γε τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ  
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ

μὲν μέλλει πρὸς τὸν Θηβαίων αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιόντες τὴν ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρύω, τῷς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τὸν Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέριπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δίνει μεγάλην ἔχοιν αὐτὸς ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τὸν μὲν δοντας ἔχθρον Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὐδὲ δὲ ἀπώλεστεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φοκέας τὴν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἀν ταῦτα πιστεύειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἀν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὗτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἐπραξεῖ οὐτί; ἀν εἰ τὸν ἀπεγίγρωσκε Θηβαίων, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐγατισθεῖαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν τὸν ποιεῖ, κάκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλος ἐστι ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ', ἀν τις δρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάπτων. καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀράγκης τρόπον τοῦ αὐτῷ τὸν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίζεισθε γάρ. ὑρχεῖν βούλεται, τούτοις δὲ ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνινς ἐπειληφεῖν ἵματα. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἀριστα σύποδειν αὐτῷ. οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ἵμετέρους ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τοῦλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖπο, οὐδὲ ἀν οἴκοι μέρειν βεβαίως ἥγειτο. ἀμφότερα οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐπιβούλευοντα καὶ ἵματος ἀσθανομένους· εἰ δὲ φρονεῖν δὲ ἵματα ἴπολαιμβάνουν, δικάιως ἀν αὐτὸν μιτεῖν τομῆσαι καὶ παρόξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἀν καιρὸν λόβητε, ἀν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορει, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεῦει τιὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους τοὺς ταῦτα βουλορέμενους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἰεται, διὰ δὲ οικαιώητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν προάψειθαι. καίτοι συμφωνοῦτί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐγαργῆ παραδέγματ' ἔστιν ιδεῖν, ἀ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιων δὲ ἵπτως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν εἰρῆσθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἰστε;, ἔφην, ὃ ἀνόρες Μαστήνου, δίστλερῶς

άκοντες Ὀλυμπίους, εἴ τις τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἑκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε Ἀιθεροῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥφιει· ἡς πάντες εἰ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ηπιζητεῖ ὁ ἀδίδων τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλόντ. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀγέρητο, τὴν χώραν δὲ ἑκείνους ἐδεδόκει καρποῦσθαι; ἀρα προσδοκῶν αὐτοὺς τουτά τα πείτερα, ἢ λέγοντος ἀν τινος πιστεῦται πεσθεῖ; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ἐγώ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρποσάρισμι πιλίν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἵπτεται σπέρονται, αὐτορῆς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ἵπτεται ἀλλήλων καὶ πραττέντες· οὐδὲ γάρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείναις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αἴται λίγαι ὅμιλαι. τί δὲ οἱ Θετταλοί; ἢ μὲν οὐετός, ἔφη, ὅτε αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλαι Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐίσαν, προσδοκῶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν οὐν δεκαδορχίαιν ἐπεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίν ἀποδότα τοῖτο τὰς ἔνιας αὐτὸν πρωτόδοντος παρακρίσεσθαι· οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. ὑπεῖς δέ, ἔφη ἐγώ διδύντα μὲν καὶ ἵπατοισιν θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δέ τὴν ἥρην καὶ παρακεκραμένον ἀπείχεσθε, εἰ σωφροῦτε δὴ, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τούνεν τῇ Δέ, ἔφη ἐγώ, παιτοδαπά εύρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οὐτούς χαριτώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφρους καὶ ταλλά ὅσα τουτά. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἀπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ διπάνης πρωτίστων· ἐν δέ τι κοινῷ ἡ φύσις τῶν εὐ φροντίστοντον αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, δέ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλίθεστι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπτητί. ταύτην φυλάίττε, ταύτης διτέχεσθε· ἢ ταῦτην σώζετε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητᾶτε; ἔφη. ἀλεστερίαν. ἀτέρετος οὐδὲν ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτροπότας ταύτην καὶ τὰς πρωτηγορίας ἔχοντα· βασιλεὺς γάρ καὶ τιμαῖος ἀπος ἔχθρος ἀλεστερίαν καὶ τάφρους ἔισι τίς. οὐδὲν οὐδετέρος οὐδεποτέ τοιούτους ἀπαλλαγῆς δειππάτην εἴη· τοιούτους

Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῦνοι, καὶ θυρυβουντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὑστεροῦ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχίζονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδὲ ὡν ἐπαγγέλλεται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἂν τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὄρθωσί τι πράξουστιν, ἀλλ' εἰ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἥδη ποιεῖν λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομείναντες. οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχ' ἥδοινὴ καὶ ῥάστώνη μεῖζον ἵσχυει τοῦ ποθ' ὑστεροῦ συνοίστειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῶν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑστεροῦ βουλεύεσθε, ἀν σωφρονῆτε· ἀ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντα· ἀν εἴητε ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτα ἥδη λέξω.

### ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

Ἡν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπείσθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἀν ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐπαίστουσθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντα εἰρήνης Φίλιππον φέσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ὀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἔτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς δέ τοι ἐγὼ γεγονίας ἥδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκουν πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προσλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἴων προέσθαι Ηἱλιας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὑδωρ πίνων εἰκότως διστροφος καὶ δίσκολος εἰμί τις ἀιθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ εἴξαισθ' ἀν ἡμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπίας μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παίστει τῆς ὑβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αἵτοι τέλεσι διωρύξει, Εἴβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὄρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῶν ἀποδάσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βίγματος ἐιταθῆν μημονεύετε· οὐδὲ ὅτι μήτείτα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμηῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἀλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἴαι  
ται την ἐψηφίσασσεν τὸν τελέος ἐπίχθυτε. τὸ δὲ ταῦτα νῦν  
λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φόρο δεῖ τοίτερος: ἐγὼ τὴν τοῦς θεοὺς τάληθη  
μετὰ παρόπτειν ἐρῦ πρὸς ἵμας καὶ τόκον ἀποκρίψομαι, οὐχ  
οὐδὲ εἰς λουδορίαν ἐρπετὸν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἦστος λόγον παρ'  
ἵμαν ποιήτω, τοῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ προπερούσατο ἐξ ἀρχῆς καυτὴν  
παράστασιν προφυτεύσατο τὸν πόλιν τι λαζεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππων, οὐδὲ  
τὰ την ἄλλος ἀδύλετον. ἀλλὰ οὐραί ποθεν ἵμας λυτήτειν οὐ  
Φιλίππος πρέπει μᾶλλον οὐ τὰ τυνά τὸ γάρ πράγματι ὄρῳ  
προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βιλόριην μὲν οὐ εἰκάζειν ὄρθως. φοβού-  
μη δὲ μὴ λέπι τηρίσει τὸν τηρητόν. οὐτοις οὖν μηκέθε ἵμαν  
ἀμελεῖν ἀξιατία γένηται τοῖς συμβαντιντοῖς, μηδὲ ἀκούειν  
οὐτι ταῦτα ἐφ' ἵμας ἔττιν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ πά-  
τες ὄρατε καὶ οὐδεῖτε ὄργιλον καὶ προχεῖς ἵμας ἀνεσθαι  
ιορίζων. φοβούμην δὴ μὴ τὰ πρέτερα σειτιωπηκότον, εφ'  
οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς συνίσται ἀειφορικούστες, τοῖς ἐπανορμοῦν τι πε-  
ριφέντας τὸν διὰ τούτους ἀπολαλότων τὴν παρ' ἵμαν ὄργην περι-  
πεσεῖν συμβῆν. ὄρῳ γάρ οὐ τὰ πιλλὰ εἰδεῖν οὐκ εἰς τοὺς  
αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὄργην ἀφίεταις.  
Ἐος οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατα-  
κούονται ἀλλήλων. ἔκαστον ἵμαν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, διατι  
ἐπαναριθμοῖ βιττοριαὶ τίς δὲ Φωκέας πείσας ἵμας καὶ Πίλας  
προσέσθαι, οὐ κατατίνει ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
οὖσαν καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποίχη  
ἵμαν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαιῶν μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πραγμάτοις εἴσαι  
τὴν βιττήν. ἀλλὰ ἵππερ τὸν ἀν τὴν χώραν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν  
Ἀττικὴν πλάνουν, οὐ λογίσει μὲν εὐεπτον, οὐδὲν παρη-  
γόντες δὲ ἀνεύ της ἵμέλην. Οὐ γάρ μὴ πανεκπάθητε τοῦ  
ἵμετος, οὐδὲν μὲν ἦν τὴν πόλει πράγμα. οὐτε γάρ ταντὶ διγόνη  
κριτήριας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐδεὶς δι ποτε επίδειξ Φιλίπποις,  
οὐτε πέργη βασιλέων ἐπειρ τοῖς Πίλαις καὶ Φωκαῖς. ἀλλὰ η τὰ  
δικαιούντα ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγων ἵμαχον ἔχει, η παρα-

χρῆμα' ἀν ἵν οἱσίω πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνῆσαι, τὴν ἰκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ' ἀν ἐξετασθείη μάλιστ' ὀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὃ πάντες θεοί οὐδένα γὰρ βουλούμην ἀν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

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# INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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It is impossible to understand the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, unless we have some general idea of the events of Grecian and Macedonian history during the period of which they treat. In order to gain this more easily, a slight glance at the state of affairs in the several Greek states at the accession of Philip will be necessary. And it may be remarked, to commence with, that no single Grecian state was able to cope with Philip at the date of the first Philippic, and a union among them for this purpose was almost impossible. At the accession of Philip, then, Sparta, was suffering from her defeats by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The Arcadian confederacy had been established on her northern frontier. Messene on the northwest, and Tegea and Argos were now her implacable enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to vassalage under a hated rival. Thebes had as allies and confederates all the Peloponnesian States opposed to Sparta, and in addition the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Eubea, together with Oropus, wrested six years before from Athens. Her

ascendancy over the Boeotian towns was complete, and there lay her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While, therefore, all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for her action towards Plataea, Thespiae, and Oropomene, remarkable alike for its antiquity and religious observances.

Athens alone had the power at this time to avert from Greece her impending doom. She stood, since the battle of Naxos, B.C. 376, at the head of a vast maritime confederacy; her general Timotheus had acquired for her Pydna, Potidea, and Methone on the Macedonian coast. She had also colonized the Thracian Chersonese and vindicated her power over Cotys, the king of that country. Funds poured into her treasury from the insular allies, and her power was respected through all the Aegean. But she had imbibed in common with the rest of Greece the pernicious idea that the defence of the country could be entrusted to mercenaries, and her power was thus every day becoming weaker, her allies more and more estranged, and her citizens, fiery politicians in the general assembly, were quiet enough at their homes, when they reasoned on the money side of the question, and compared domestic comforts with the hardships of war. The Athenian of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious boast of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but valiant in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single

arm depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him by the recollections of his kindred and his gods. (THUC. ii. 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenians now wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought his battles with his money, but lavished it more freely in the worship of his gods. Scrupulous to observe even the smallest duties of religion, he allowed the weightier concerns of the glory of his country to be cared for by strangers who fought for their daily pay. Unlike his ancestor, who might claim with the Spartan, that poverty had been the inmate of Greece, and a guarantee of Grecian courage, (HER. VII. 102.), he now rolled in riches, one-half of which was spent in pleasure, and the other squandered in the pay of mercenary vagabonds.

Such were the States which were soon to see themselves pitted against a young man trained in the lap of Grecian polities in his youth, and anxious to emulate the glory of his great prototype, Epaminondas. On the one side was plenty, forces trained to war, yet lacking the energy to fight, vast maritime power, and money pouring into their coffers from numberless dependencies. On the other side poverty and undisciplined hordes, clad in skins of beasts, but inured to fight from infancy, and accustomed to all manner of fatigue. No ports, no sea coast, no allies, no money in the treasury ; and yet we shall find in a few years that every one of these was in abundance, wrested from the very hands of those who were too negligent to take even common precautions for their preservation.

Philip ascended the throne of Macedon in the Archonship of Callimedes, B.C. 360-359, and immediately came in contact with Athens, from her support of Ar-

gaus, one of the pretenders to the crown. As he well knew that Athens only wanted Amphipolis, he promised to give it up to them, and this secured their defection from Argaus, who was soon afterwards defeated by Philip whilst making an attack upon Edessa, (DIODOR. XVI., 31.). At the same time he sent letters to Athens asking for an alliance on the same terms as his father had received. (DEM. *contra ARISTOC.* 660). He now had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, and he made good use of the time against the Illyrians and other neighbours inland. As soon as these had been disposed of he attacked Amphipolis, notwithstanding his promises to Athens, and when remonstrated with, assured them that he was only attacking the city to deliver it up to them when captured. The city fell, and he forgot his promises, B.C. 358. It may be wondered why Athens did not seize the city when offered to her a year before; it is at that time she was about commencing the Social War, and she may not have been able to spare forces sufficient to occupy the place. He knew too well the value of the city as opening up the district east of the Strymon to give it up, and it continued to be his greatest port for the remainder of his reign. Olynthus now became alarmed for the safety of her possessions, and sent an offer of peace to Athens, which was rejected through Philip's representations, and at the same time he hinted that Pydna of right was his. A secret understanding appears to have been come to for an interchange of Pydna for Amphipolis, (DEM. OR. ii. p. 19.), which came to nothing. Philip now made an alliance with the Olynthians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and called to

them Anthemus, and the Athenian town of Potidaea, (PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna were lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except that it was during the continuance of the Social War, and previous to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 476). All we know is that aid was voted by Athens, but arrived too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50.) and that the siege of Potidaea was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARISTOC.* 656). After thus consolidating his power in the neighbourhood of Olynthus he set out again for the Strymon, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian town Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold mines of Pangaeus, which yielded him 1000 talents a year, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attacking Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on the coast of Macedonia and reducing it under his sway. From its position it was advantageous to Athens as affording a basis for maritime enterprise against Macedonia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would be that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also her aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city was captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege, and some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed from all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic Gulf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and Abdera, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadæ against Lycophron and Onomarchus, on the other. Onomarchus had gone to the aid of Lycophron of Pheræ, and with such assistance that he was enabled to conquer Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to retire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the fall

of Methone and had aided Eudicus and Simos against Lycophron, (DEM. *de Cor.* p. 241,) and now again for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians, disgusted with the tyranny of Lycophron, joined his standard in large numbers ; the armies met near the sea coast on the south of Thessaly, and Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself perishing in the flight. Charax was sailing past in his fleet, and afforded aid to the flying Phocians. In addition to all these wars he had successfully subdued the tribes of inner Macedon, Thrace, Illyria, and Paeonia.

Philip thus became absolute master of Thessaly, and having captured Pagase late in 353, he was enabled to establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass the Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute in Greece. He ruled from Thermopylae to the banks of the Hebrus, and from the Egean Sea to the mountains of Oribelus. He incorporated the Thessalian cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. Determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards Thermopylae to enter Greece. Here, however, he was decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of his march. An assembly was called. For once there were no *antilos is*, and in a very few days a force of 500 foot and 400 horse under the command of Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) and arriving at the pass effectually prevented Philip from even hazarding an attack. He now retired into Thessaly, was appointed Tagus of that country, got command of all its finances, and subjected the whole country to his control. His cruisers swarmed on the Egean, attacked Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Gerestus, invaded the sacred soil of

Attica, and carried off the Theoric galley from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels made incursions into Eubœa, and effected the partial drawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence. Meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace, he set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extending his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and Cersobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos. The alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An assembly was convoked in November 352, and Charidemus selected as the fittest to command. Immense preparations were voted, and all men from eighteen to forty-five were to embark, when news came that Philip was sick, and soon after that he was dead. All the preparations vanished at this report, and the Athenian settled down to his worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destructive to the best interests of his country.

Although there is no direct authority for stating it, still the probability is very great that at Athens many speeches had been made about Philip, and more particularly since his repulse at Thermopylæ. Before this time there is no reason to suppose that his designs were to be feared ; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De Symmoriis* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made to him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees need to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion and Eubulus did not care to incite the Athenians to personal exertions, in fact saw no reasons for so doing ; and all their speeches were directed not against any particular

enemy, but in favor of *peace at any price*. But the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of a war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Aristodemus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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# NOTES

## TO THE

# FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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[Page 1.]

*Ei μὲν . . . . . λέγειν.]* *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon some new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (*σαρίς*) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHÖEMANN *de Com. Ath.* p. 59. *Προτιθέται*—said of the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion.

*'Επιστὰς ἄν.]* *I should have delayed.* *ἄν* is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. JELF. 827, B.

*Τῶν εἰωθετῶν.]* *Seil.* *γνῶμην ἀποφίγγασθαι*, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: *ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μέν τις ἀγάπος τῶν εἰωθετῶν ἐπιθυμεῖεν ἀξίως ἣν τῆς πόλεως εὐρηκὼς, οὐσιχίαν ἄν οἶσον.* By a law of Solon, referred to by Eschines in the exordium of his oration *Contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. *Achar.* 43. Still so much respect was paid to it, that Demosthenes apologizes for rising first.

*Ei ἐὰν μή.]* *An adversative force—if this were not so.* JELF. 860, C.

*Ηράτερον.]* Since 356, when Philip captured Potidaea.

*Νηρί.]* Stronger than *νῆν*, for the latter is joined with the perfect and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog. s. v.

*Τριγύρων.]* Here and in PROM. VINCI, 270 governs the genitive, the more usual construction being with the accusative. JELF. 512

## [Page 1.]

[*Ἐκ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς μηδεὶς χωρεῖ.*] The same expression occurs again a few lines below. RÜSKE translates it, *a proposito inde tempore.* Here it is opposed to *τις*, below to *τὰ μέλλοντα*.

*Βαλεῖν*—*to give advice.* *Βαθύθαντι*—*to deliberate or consult together.* *Δεῖσις*—*to wish.* *Διάταξις*—*to lay.* *Βαθύθαντι* is *to deliberate* of more than one person, but when it is used of only one person it means to deliberate with one's self, or in one's own mind. So *Δοκεῖν* is *to consider, consider with one's self;* *Επινοεῖσθαι*—*to reflect in one's own mind.* BARKER.

[*Ὑπὸ γε.*] *How* is the reading adopted by SCHLEIER, but there is no special reason why the orator should include himself. On the contrary, he is plainly exhorting them to do something, and therefore ought to be excepted.

[*Δεσμότην.*] *Seit doch late.*] *Ηρεματοῦ* is governed by *ἐπ-*, *We must not despair in our present affairs.* SEAGER in the *Classical Journal*, L.H., p. 235, quotes BACON's *Nov. Org.* to show the experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

## [Page 2.]

[*Τὰ μέλλοντα.*] *The future.* Cf. TIME. i., 138. *Τῶν μέλλοντων.* *Μέλλω* denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than wholly future.

[*Ορθολόγε.*] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer, see CIC. *de ORAT.* III. 54. SMEAD.

[*Ἐπει τοιούτοις γε τοιούτοις.*] *Since if, as you have done all that was proper, they had been so unsuccessful, there would have been no further hope.* [*Ἄριθμος.*] *Δ.* is inserted because the opposite is the true state of affairs. *τις οὐδεὶς λέγει.* ARSOLD. Cf. Phil. iii. p. 111, 112, for similar sentiments expressed regarding their actions past and present.

[*Επιταθεῖσθαι.*] RÜSKE wrongly translates this, *Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis audiistis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriā revocatis.* Rather, *Then you ought to consider both hearing from others, and your own knowl., having recalled it to your memory.* The verbal is here joined with a dative of the person, which is the more rare construction; for more frequently verbs require an accusative of the person. *Αὐτοῦ* agrees with *ἴσης* and *οὐδεὶς* is connected with *ἴσης*, and not with *θεοπρεπεῖς*.

[Page 2.]

μέροις. Cf. Isoc. 8, 12. Οιαριζώ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μημονεύοντι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδεπός ἀκηκόασιν. SAUPPE.

Ἐξ οὐ χρόνος οὐ πολίς.] *No long time ago.*

Τπὲρ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν δικαίων.] Ἐλληνικῶν is wanting in many manuscripts, but we have only to compare other expressions of the same kind to see that it is required here. In the PHIL. ii. p. 68, we have τὰ κοινὰ δικαία τῶν Ἐλλήνων. In his oration περὶ Ροδίων, p. 199, he has τῶν ιδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἐλληνικὸς is similarly used. BREMI. His advocacy of the common right of the Greeks was the grand feature of his life. His policy was essentially Panhellenic. His views were not Athenian or Theban, like those of Pericles or Epaminondas, but Grecian. Hence his frequent appeals to their national honour, and his proud assertion in the *De Corona*, p. 324, that they were overturning τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδίνα ἔχειν δεσπότην, ἀ τοῖς προτέροις Ἐλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἥσαν καὶ κανόνες.

Τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phœbidas was sent by the Spartans to carry on the war against Olynthus, and on the march, through the treachery of Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, he seized the Kadmeia, and enrolled Thebes in the Lacedæmonian confederacy. A number of exiles, among whom was Pelopidas, fled to Athens, and induced the Athenians to allow volunteers to aid them in expelling the Spartans. The garrison of Thebes capitulated, and war was declared by Sparta. Chabrias occupied the pass of Eleutherae, and Sphodrias advanced to the Thriasian plain and devastated the country. Some of the insular allies of Sparta revolt, and join Athens. The Athenians and Thebans thus reinforced, and led by Chabrias, attack the Spartans under Agesilaus at Thespiae, and defeat them. The war continued for seven years, with various success, but in 376 Athens gained a decided advantage by defeating the Spartan fleet at Naxos. Peace was concluded in 371. GROTE, vol. X. chap 77. Many of these events, happening some twenty-five years before, must have been in the recollection of his hearers.

"Ιν' εἰδῆτε. Ιδεῖν, of perception in general, *videre*. Οεῖσθαι, of contemplating a single object. Ιν' εἰδῆτε, *ut cognoscatis*. The

[Page 2.]

repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, and generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of the mind. The *creative*, too, is nearly always placed as here, between the verbs—compare Olyn. ii. p. 19. *τίνεις τροπάριν καὶ σκοπώντας τούς ταύτας* PHIL. iii. p. 122. *Τοιούτοις τούτοις τροπάριν καὶ σκοπεῖται.* *Contra Aristoc.* p. 629. *σκοπήσας δὲ τὸν διάπολον Αθηναῖς, καὶ τροπήσας.* SCHLEIFER observes: All these terms are not really synonymous, and he considers their use twofold: one, to add force to the matter; the other, to make the oration more agreeable to the hearer.

\**Ἄντεις τούτοις; If you lightenest in it.* ἄντεις with the subjunctive signifies that the action under consideration depends upon some condition expressed or implied. JELF. 424. n.

\**Τοῦτοις δὲ μη.* JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians after the battle of Leuctra speltomos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Cnidos humbled them for a while, and lightened the yoke they were attempting to impose on Greece. This arrogance was ended by the defeat at Naxos above mentioned, and Demosthenes might thus fairly remind his countrymen of their share in the glorious conflict, and of their anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation.

*Tatōr.*] *Istius.* These words are used by a speaker in declaiming against an opponent, to mark his anger and contempt. CIC. *In Cat.* i. 1. *Nos autem, ciri fortes, satisfecere ri publica videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

\**Ἐκ τοῦ μη προσεπιπέρειν διατίθεντο.* From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.

\**Πλήρες τοῦτον τούτοις αἰτοῦσαν.* The abundance of power belonging to him. XEN. *Amab.* i. ch. v. *Πλήρες δούλη πλήρες πλευραῖς, καὶ δημοσίαις λαγεραῖς.* At the battle with Onomarchus in Thessaly the previous year, Philip commanded 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse, besides his fleet.

\**Τοῦτοι . . . ἀποδεῖσθαι.* The allusion is to the country in the neighbourhood of the towns subsequently mentioned, and that around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

*Μέντοι.] Tamen. Still.*

[*Page 2.*]

**Πύραν.**] A town of Macedonia in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf, a Greek colony subject to Sparta during the Peloponnesian War; subsequently it fell under the power of the Athenians, and was captured from them in 358. Aemilius Paulus defeated Perseus at this town in 168, and terminated the Macedonian kingdom. It was afterwards called Citrum by the Romans, and now Kitron.

**Ποτίδαια.**] A Corinthian colony on the isthmus of Pallene, about sixty stadia from Olynthus. It was captured by Philip in 356 and destroyed, the territory being given to the Olynthians. Cassandra was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a Colonia Romana.

**Μεθώνη.**] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the arrow of Aster. Strabo subsequently mentions it as a town of Macedonia. There was another town called Methone, in Thrace. There was also a Methone in Laconia, on the south-western peninsula. *THUC.* ii. 25.

**Πάντα τὸν τόπον . . . . κεκλω.]** *And all that region round about our own.*

**Ποίλα τῶν θρῶν.]** The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on the Strymon, near Amphipolis and Krenides.

**Ἄντονοιοί μερα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.]** *Gov. ruled by their own laws, and free.*

**Η κείρω.]** This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDORF. **Ἐκείνην** by SCHLEFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or erasis of this word is universal in good manuscripts, and DINDORF observes that *ἴκειν* is invariably written with the *coronis* omitted. SCHLEFER makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic *κείρος* is never used by Demosthenes.

**Τόπε.]** When Philip ascended the throne, his kingdom was embraced in the territory immediately around Pella. Now, in addition to the cities mentioned above, he had subdued the Paeonians and Illyrians, some Thracian towns near the river Nestus, as well as the whole of Thessaly.

**Τοσαῖτα**] RÜDIGER reads *τοσαῖτα*, but the orator does not say *what like* the fortresses were, but *how many*. SCHLEFER.

## [Page 2.]

*[Ἐπιτελχίσματα.]* Fortresses, like Deelea in the Peloponnesian War, from which sallies could be made to intercept supplies and ravage the country. ARNOLD. The genitive which follows ought, in the opinion of Hemsterhuis, to be the dative. It is here what is called an objective genitive. But SCHLEFER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DE LIB. RHOD. p. 193.  $\tauῆς \delta' αἰτῆς$   $\alphaρχῆς \iotaπιτελχίσματα$ . However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading *ἴπιτελχίσματες τῇ λώρᾳ*. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *propugnaculis imperii*.

*[Ἐπιμετρὸν διατάσσων.]* Acc. before  $\piοτεμέν$ . *How difficult it was for him, being destitute of allies, to wage war with the Athenians, having, &c.*

*[Ἐκτιματο διατάσσων]* is the reading of BEKKER and DINDBORI, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHLEFER gives *ἰκτιματὸν*  $\deltaι\tau$ , but remarks: *Nolum Rati, perus, ex partis nec optimis could, reverasit ἐκτιματο pro ἐκτιματ'  $\deltaι\tau$ .* For he goes on to state, “It is rare that the particle  $\deltaι\tau$  is to be understood in the second member when it occurs in the first, but oftentimes it is done; so that nowhere have I erased it, unless on the authority of the best manuscripts.” However, where a sentence is simply a continuation of another, if  $\deltaι\tau$  be expressed in the first it may be omitted in the second. JELF. 432, Obs. 2.

*[Κενοντας ἐν μητρῃ.]* The usual expression for such things, and drawn from the Palæstrian art, as we see from IL. xxiii., 704:

$\alphaρδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναικὶ ἐς μὲν σοι οὐ θηκεν.$

Also in IL. xviii. 507: *Ἐπ μίσθισι διω χωσο ο τάλαττα.* See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmium præmere*. Ex. v. 292, 486. SALL. Cat. *Fortunat et omnit vicitoribus præmia posuit.*

*[Κατιστραττα.]* *Passim*, but used *reflexively* in a *middle sense*. *He has reduced under his power.*

## [Page 3.]

*[Φέλα πομπάνερος.]* MOUNTFORD reads  $\phi\lambdaa$ , *neque ergo improbum.* But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, and v. 37, we shall find  $\phi\lambdaa$  is more usual than  $\phi\lambdaa$ , although as

[Page 3.]

SCHLEFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of them.

*Kai προσέχειν . . . . . ἀπαντεις.*] A hexameter. Another occurs at DE CORONA p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον δι' ὅν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν. In Latin, numerous examples of hexameters in prose occur, as in CIC. pro ARCH. 1. *In qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum*; and also in SALL. CAT. xix. *Cneii Pompeii veteres filosque clientes.*

*Οὓς ἀν ὄρωσι . . . . . ἀ χρή.*] *Whom they may see prepared and willing to do what is necessary.* The Perf. Pass. of παρασκενάζω means to be prepared, simply.

*Kai ἐκαστος ἴμων κ. τ. 2.*] VÖMEL wishes us to construe this passage as follows: *καὶ (ἀν) ἐκαστος ἴμων οὐ (i. q. ubi) δεῖ—εἰρωτιαν ἐπάρξῃ ἐτοιμος πραττείν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι.* And then the apodosis returns at *καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ. τ. 2.* And WHISTON follows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable order, which is also given by BARKER, will be shown in my translation: *And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be prepared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render yourself useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you would depend upon yourselves alone. εἰρωτιαν—dissimulatio—thinking they were not able for their work, but in reality being so.* 'Εἰσφέρειν—a frequent advice of our orator. See OL. ii. 27. The εἰσφορά was a war tax upon the Athenian citizens, according to their property. From THUC. iii. 19, it has been supposed that the year B.C. 428 was the first in which this tax was levied. But this is doubtful, as there are references to it earlier than this year. The census of Solon was the original basis for this εἰσφορά; but in the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars see DICT. ANT. and DEM. de SYM. Στρατείεσθαι. All Athenian citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be enrolled for military service, and after twenty could be called up in

[Page 3.]

for foreign service. But in the time of Demosthenes such leaders as Charidemus and Iphicrates were engaged to fight and the Athenian himself remained at home. The armies of the principal Greek States were mercenary, chiefly obtained from Arcadia, the *Spartan land* of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Σέβετε δέ τοιούτοις εἰσίν.] 'Ατομός is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰσίν is omitted by BERKER and DISDORF, but given by SCHÄFFER. I have retained both; ἀτομός on the authority of the best German commentators, and εἰσίν from a comparison with a similar expressions in XEN. ANAB. iii. 1; *διετίτι τοιούτοις εἰσίν.* That I may state simply and briefly. 'Ατομός is omitted in the present passage, as is also the case in HER. vi. 30. 'Ετοι μέντοι εἰσίν δέ εστιν οὐδεν; and also EUR. MED. 231, *μητρίτατοι εἰσίν*, a reading to be preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: *μητρίται εἰσίν*.

Ἄντε ποιήσετε ἄτομούς τε γενετούς.] If you do not wish to depend upon others: i.e. if you wish to be your own masters. SCHÄFFER translates *εὐθίστητος*, *μονεκούς*, *πολεμούς*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. CON. vi. 19. *οἰκιστικαῖς τε.* Ye are not your own masters: and also, SORBI. ED. RX. 917. We have adopted the reading *ἄτομούς* here instead of *τούς*, which is given by nearly all editors. DISDORF says in his preface in a note on p. 51. 29. PHIL. i.: "This may be considered as most certain that Demosthenes nowhere uses *ἄτομούς*," and he corrects this passage as we have given it.

Κατατίθεσθε.] *Vobis arguimus—non s' ill' arguere for yourselves proponemus*—i.e. Pynda, Potidaea, Methone, and Amphipolis.

Τα κατατίθεσθε . . . την οἰκείαν.] You shall again recover what you have the sightlessly lost, and again possess it upon him. Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, and cf. XEN., MEM., iii., 5. *κατατίθησθε σάρτες βοστριζούσοις.*

Ητε γινόμενοι οἴδαιοι.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Ιθαγενεῖς σπερμονάνισται.*

Καὶ μοστού . . . ἔχετε αἰτῶ.] And there are some who hate and fear and envy him even of those now seemingly most friendly to him. You used here for *οἴδαιοι*, as also in HIL. iii. 82, *Εγερται*.

[Page 3.]

'Εχειν and its compounds are frequently used in this way, 'Επέχειν, HER. vi. 102. Πρέχειν, iii. 142. Προσέχειν, iii. 48, and so of many other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

Καὶ = καὶ ἐν. PORSON's rule is: In words joined by crasis, as καττι, κὰν, κὰν, iota ought nowhere to be added unless καὶ forms a crasis with a diphthong, as κύτα for καὶ εἴτα. *Præf. ad. Hec.* p. xi.

Κατέπτηχε μέντοι . . . . . ῥῖν.] *But all these now cower down in fear.* SCAPULA says s. v. καταπτήσσω. Proprie dici volunt de animantibus, quae conspecto hoste præ metu se contrahunt in loco aliquo ad latendum commodo.

'Παγραιαν.] (from ῥᾶσσον θερός.) *Lentitudo—indifference—arising from an improper estimate of the importance of the difficulties which they had to contend.*

Οἱ πρωτίζειν ἀσελγειας ἀνθρωπος.] *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs ποῦ, ποί, τόπος, οὗ, οἷ, and some others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in SOPH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads ἀνθρωπος, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDOF and SCHIFFER, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places which favour BEKKER (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find any others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion. 'Ασελγειας is derived from ἀ, θελγω = mulcere, to *lull gently* with the further idea of an *evil intention*, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is derived from ἀ Σεληνη, a town of Pisidia, whose inhabitants lived very intemperately. If such be the case it is not a solitary instance, since we have *Sybarite*, an effeminate person; from Sybaris in Lucania, founded by Achæans and Trozenians, B.C. 720, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminacy.

Καὶ οὐχ οἰός ἐστιν . . . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις.] *And he is not the man, while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.* Οὐός ἐστιν, or οἰός τις ἐστιν followed by the infinitive is properly τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, ὡστε—*he is not of such a kind as, &c.* Οἰός εἰμι signifies *I am wont*; οἰός τις *I am able*. MATTH. GK. GR. 479. WHISTON was therefore wrong in translating this passage, “and he is unable to rest satisfied with them.” “Μέντιν ἐπὶ τούτοις is properly, as here, *to remain in this state of things*, without attempting to advance any further; hence to let things remain as they

[Page 3.]

are. In De. Cor. 307, it is *μένεται τινα = to persevere in — μένεται έπι τινι = insistere alicui.*"—RÜDIGER.

[Ἄλλοι δέ τε . . . . τετραγύμνον.] But he is always seeking to obtain something new, and while we are idly lying and wasting our opportunities in idleness, he helps us in every side. Περὶ τετραγύμνου and τετραγύμνον, are taken from the language of hunters. Καὶ φέταρχοι, εἰρηνοῦτες. Cf. Ημ. Οδ. viii. 278. κινητοὶ οὐτοι, and Χει. ΑΝΑΒ. iii. 1, 2: κινητοὶ δὲ αἰτητοὶ τετραγύμνοι καὶ ἔθρη καὶ πόδεις πόδειςατο ἡσαν.

II.  $\tau'$  [ $\tau, \dots, \tau\sigma\tau\epsilon$ .] This abrupt method of Demosthenes is much admired for the attention it attracts on the part of the hearers.

Nēr dī tī (yā) . . . . , sītūn.] What, then, do you consider what is taking place now? Sulandii, sī mā dītān. RUISKE

The *it* in the *temporal adverb* [v. 5, n.] The *disgrace* impending over our present circumstances. 'It' is here used with *Gen.* to express the cause of our feeling, the more usual construction being *i-*, with the same case. JELD. 63), c.

Εἰταντοι] Singular, though addressed to many. Φίστ and ἵγε are used similarly. Cf. PLATO, EUTH. Εἰταντοι, ὃ Σοφοῖς τε σκινεῖσιν τοῖς δίδοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and a singular object addressed. SOPH. OED. COL. 1102, 1104, where the old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Ismene is also there.

[*Hymenaios* είτε παραπλεύσατε.] We have followed ARNOLD in rejecting *είτε*, the *h* being, which BURKE and DIXON enclose in brackets, and WHISTON struck through as useless verbiage. SCHWEIKER reads *είτε*, *καὶ λαβεῖτε τὸν Ιησοῦν* *in foro*. Longinus quotes the passage in DE SOL. c. 18, with *τιθέσθαι* which is probably a gloss. See a remarkable statement of ST. PAUL, shewing the conservative character of the Greeks, since even in his days "they spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing" Acts xvii. 21.

Γένοτο γὰρ ἀντιτιμώντα μεταξύ τοῦ Αθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Αρείου πόλεως. *For what can be greater news than a Melianus note respecting injuries against Athenians and regarding the conciliatory policy of Athens? Observe the force of this in this sentence. It denotes the surprise of the speaker, that such a state*

## [Page 3.]

of affairs can exist. Cf. II. 1, 123. *πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δώσοντι γέρας μεγάθυνον' Λαζαρί;* *For how shall high-spirited Greeks a prize on thee bestow?* *Num* is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose appended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIRG. A. E. ii. 373, xii. 637. *Μακάρων ἄνδρα, Vir Macudo,* HOR. used contemptuously.

## [Page 4.]

*Τέθηκε Φίλιππος . . . . . ἀλλ' ἐστερεῖ.*] Alluding to the reports lately received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some time after the siege of Methone Philip was attacked by a dangerous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so lively an interest in this concurrence are explained in OL. iii. The king was besieging the fortress of Herœum in Thrace, and in all probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This movement caused great excitement in Athens. Exactly at this juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens, and more than once it was confidently asserted he was dead." ARNOLD.

*Καὶ γὰρ ἀν αἰτίᾳ τοῦτο τούτῳ.*] *For even if something should happen him.* Lat. "si quid hancūi aitūi rit," a euphemism for "should he die." WHISTON. In *καὶ γάρ*, *καὶ* always means *even*, and is connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. *Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς τοὺς αἰτῶντας ἐπεποίητο συγκαχῖν.* JELF. 786, Obs. 8.

*Ταχέως.*] Other forms of this adverb meaning *quickly* are: *διὰ ταχέων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, σὺν τάχει, τάχι* and *αἱ τάχισται.*

*Ἐπερος Φίλιπποι.*] *Ant monasias for "another treacherous enemy."*

*Περὶ τὴν αἰτοῦ ὥστη κ. τ. λ.*] *Has he been aggravated so much by his own strength, as, &c.* *Πότη* like *robur* means strength to resist an attack. *Τοσοῦτον, ὥστη*, acc. of quantity. *Ἐπιγιῆται, Perf. pass. from ἐπανξάνω.*

*Καίτην καὶ τοῦτο. εἰ τοι πάθου κ. τ. λ.*] After *τοῦτο*, *ἀν γένοντο*, is understood, and even if this should be the case, if something should happen him, and fortune, which always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves, should aid us, and perform this. In this very difficult passage, rendered even more so by new readings from nearly every commentator, I have given what seems the best translation, considering the uncertainty of the passage. SCHWEITZER here reads for *τοῦτο*, *τοῖς τούς*, and removes the point, but in his explanations

[Page 4.]

he calls the construction an anacoluthon, which with his reading it is not. DINOLE brackets *καὶ ταῖς ἐποπέαις* unnecessarily, and AUGER reads (*καὶ ταῖς ἐποπέαις*) *καὶ ταῖς*. Cf. DE CORONA, 123; *so ταῖς γὰρ ταῖς*, FALS. LEG. p. 314. *Contra Dionys.* 40; *οὐαὶ ταῖς*. *Contra Mid.* p. 167. FRANKE. *Τὰ τὰς ταῖς* for *ταῖς*, with this distinction, that the latter means *fortuna*, the former a *continuation of fortune's events*. Compare his statement about fortune here with the opening of the OL. ii.

*Τετραπλεῖστος ἐποπέας.*] *Having a hand in all its affairs when disturbed.*

*Οὐαὶ ταῖς λύσεις.*] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see JELF. 813.

*Αμφίπολις.*] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Istrum. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Erinei* and belonged to the Edoni. But Hagnon in 457 expelled them, and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see THUC. iv. 102. Brasidas in 424 captured it from the Athenians, and in 422 Cleon and he fell in battle before its walls. Brasidas was honored as a god by the Amphipolitans, and was regarded as the real founder. DICT. ANT. s. v. Brasideia.

*Καὶ ταῖς παρατελεῖσθαι ταῖς γραμματοῖς.*] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i.e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLFF translates *ἀποτελεῖσθαι*, *hesitating*. But SCHERER, *separately, removed*; but used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *ταῖς γραμματοῖς*. We have followed WYTTESBURG in translating it, *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Πλοῖας, δέκας.* Demosthenes probably alluded in this word, and also in *παρατελεῖσθαι* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heronum. The people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent him capturing the town. Nine months afterwards ten galleys were sent out, and five talents. In the subsequent part of the oration we shall find him speaking of formidable powers—*οἱ πολεῖς*—and here also the allusion may be the same.

*Ως μὲν οὖν . . . . . 2. Καὶ τοῦτο.*] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it, I say*

[Page 4.]

*no more of that.* Ὡς with *Gen. Abs.* indicates that the real existence of the action of the participle is kept out of view and represented only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the opinion which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

*Kαὶ τὸ πῆδηθος . . . . . λέγειν.] And the magnitude of the force, and the supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear to me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to explain. Kαὶ δῆ. protinus, statim, now. It is also used very frequently, especially in HERODOTUS, to introduce the most important clause of a sentence, which seems to be its force here. See DONALDSON CRAT. p. 268.*

*Καινὴν καρασκενὴν.] A new plan of preparation, i.e. greater than any previous one, and likely to secure success. REISKE improperly explains: Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos milites atque recentes, novas naves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno usu detrita reprobans.—SCHLÄFER.*

*Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχύ . . . . . λέγονται.] For those who say “quick” and “to-day” are not the people who speak most to your advantage. Τίμερον, Attic and comic for σήμερον, and so not a contraction for τῇ ιμέρᾳ for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage of the article. Σήμερον and τήμερον are to ιμέρα, as σῆτες and τῆτες to ἔτος.—L. & S.*

*Οὐ γὰρ ἀν τὰ . . . . . ἀντιθείημεν.] For by our present expedition, we cannot render ineffective what has already been done. Cf. HOR. OD. iii. 29.*

Non tamen irritum,  
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet.

*Kαὶ πόθεν.] Understand τὴν τροφὴν πορθεῖσα, and whence obtained the force must be which shall be able to hold out until we put an end to the war ourselves, or subdue the enemy. Διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον to end a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πόλεμον by the intervention of a third party.*

*Τοῦ ξεποῦν.] = Ever again, hereafter, denotes future repetition. HER. i. 189. ἴστε τοῦ ξεποῦν τὰ γενικάς μεν εὐπετέως διαβήσεσθαι, whereas τὸ ξεπόν henceforth, denotes future continuance. SOPH. ANT. 311.*

[Page 4.]

[*θαττόντι εἰδο ταῖτα λέγεται εἰς.*] When the same person or thing is the nominative to a verb *εἰδει*, *λέγει*, *θεάται*, and also the accusative before an infinitive following it, the accusative is omitted, and the nominative stands before the infinitive. This construction is sometimes imitated in Latin. HOR. OD. iii., 27. *Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis.* "Ex*er* = posse.

[*Μηδέ τινα . . . λεγειθεῖται.*] *Not wishing to prevent any other one from offering another suggestion.* Butini translates "*si quis alios vult et magnifico permittit.*" But I see no necessity for using the verb in a bad sense. It is rather an expression of modesty on the part of the orator. "*Εγεγένετο*" indeed, means "*tro pellere*," and not as he explains it, *permittere quod præstare non possis*.

[*Μεταστ.*] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. SOPH. PHIL. 350. *Kείνος μὲν οὐν ἐκείτο.*

[*Τριράγονον τριτά.*] The Athenian trireme, called by way of distinction *τριτά*, was, as its name implies, formed with three banks of oars, and was distinguished still farther by the subdivisions of "ships of war" (*ταχιτά*) and "ships of burden" or transports, (*πτυχιατά*); (*πτυχιατά*). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *εργατάται*, 54 on the middle, *εργατάται*, and 54 on the lower, *εργατάται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (*επαγγελτά*) to be used by the *πτυχιατά* or *δηθητά* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *θεμιστός*, who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. These made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROTE, CHAP. xli. Themistocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Aegina, and after his time until the end of the Peloponnesian War, three or four hundred were always ready. This is accounted for by the fact that he caused a law to be carried appropriating annually a sum from the mines of Laurium, sufficient to equip 20 new ones. The building of them, as we learn from DEM. *contra ASTYLOM*, p. 598, was under the care of the Council of 500.

[*Δεῖν*] The infinitive is used absolutely to imply that a thing must be done, or as a general expression of necessity, and in these

[Page 4.]

meanings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δὲ ικάροις φάσκειν. OD. x. 431. Ἄ δειλοι, πόσ' ἴμεν.

Ἐτρ' αὐτοὶς.....ἐμβασιν.] And then, that you so make up your mind, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away, having embarked upon them. After ἐχειν γάρ τινα, διακισθαι γνώμην, and such like the Genitive absolute with ὡς is the usual construction. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ιόντος.....οιτως ἐχειν γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another example." ARNOLD.

Τοις γαρ σοι τῶν ιππέων.] 500, for each tribe furnished 100. ARNOLD. That is if the Athenians kept up the force they had at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 225, WHISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, c. 1, D.

[Page 5.]

Ιππαγωγὴς τριήρεις.] Cavalry transports, constructed from the old ταχεῖαι, or warships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying the additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.

Ιππαια,] for carrying provisions and other necessaries of an army.

Εἰς Πέλας καὶ Χερίσσης καὶ Ολυνθον,] In 352, Philip being invited by the Thessalians, marched into Thessaly, and was defeated by Onomarchus, the general of the Sacred War, in two battles. He then retired into Macedonia, but returned soon after, largely reinforced, and in turn Onomarchus was defeated at Pagasæ. Soon after Philip was proceeding to the invasion of Phocis when the Athenians, fully aroused, sent off a land and naval force to guard the pass of Thermopylæ. Philip, prevented from entering into Greece, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for Thrace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down in front of Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn that news came that he was sick ; that, having recovered, he raised the siege of Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will thus be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.

Ἄγαρ.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.

[Page 5.]

*Eis Eubœa.*] Understand τοιούτους τοιούτους. REISKE. The Eubœan cities joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B.C. But after the battle of Leuctra the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 385-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, given by DEM. in De Reb. CHER. p. 108, they manned and equipped an adequate force, and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island, GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

*Eis Αἴγαρον.*] In 405 Lysander, who defeated the Athenian fleet at Egospotamus, and thus ended the Peloponnesian war, marched to the attack of Haliartus in Boeotia, in consequence of the disputes between Thebes and Sparta. His army was defeated and he himself slain by Neochorus. Pausanias, the Spartan king, arrived soon after, but Athenian auxiliaries in the meantime had come up under Thrasylus and Orthobulus, and he was unable to conquer the town. He retired after burying the dead body of Lysander. GROTE, chap. lxxxiv.

*Πάντας οὐ Πύλας.*] B.C. 353-2, the latter part of the year. On *eis Πύλας*, *vide supra*.

*Οὐτοι ταῦτα λέπειν εἰπεῖν εἰπεῖν.*] *Nor is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i.e. set out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be well prepared, he may keep quiet.* Οὐτοι ταῦτα λέπειν = non satis prorsus sentire; who also would read οὐ τι because *καὶ οὐταλι* *particularis fortissime negantibus recte additur*.

*Εἰ τέτοιοι πάτερ.*] This does not refer to Eschines since his connection with Philip arose some years later, but more particularly to the attors Neoptolemus and Aristonemus, who had long been in Philip's interests —GROTE, chap. lxxix.

*Εἰτι πάρα εἰ.*] Cf. CIC. in CAT. 1, 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quædam virtus, and V. 10. EN. ii. 602, diuum, inclemens diuum. DE COR. 61, 175, εἰτι πάρα, ιπποιοι πάρα.* Also, CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *Fuit hæc quædam virtus, fuit præcipua Pænali Romeni.*

*Αφέλακτος θρόνη.* Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHLEFER — *He may be taken off his ground.* For a similar statement see THUC. iii. 30.

[Page 5.]

Μηδένος δυτος. “Μηδέν rather than οὐδέν on account of *ινα*.” FRANKE. Μηδέν is used subjectively and expresses that one *thinks* a thing is *not* ; οὐδέν objectively, that it *really is not*. For a beautiful example of μη and οὐ with their compounds, see XEN. CYR. iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. μη, with his remarks upon it.

\*Αρέσθη καιρόν.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but SCHLEFER reads καιρός and remarks on the present reading, “*quod mihi etiam placet, scil. ēκεινας.*” *If he give an opportunity.* Perhaps this was the easiest way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to throw away opportunities. He was awake now.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τῷρες.] Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τῷρες = *ante haec*. WOLF; also adopted by ARNOLD without comment. But πρὸς δὲ τούτοις—in *addition to these*, would seem to convey the orator’s meaning better than πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τῷρες *before these*. For he evidently regards the greater plan as involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a privateer force unless its depredations could be followed up by the regular force of 50 triremes which he proposes.

Μή μοι μυσίονς . . . . . δινάμεις.] After μή μοι, sc. εἰπῆς. *Do not tell me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenary forces of yours.* JACOBS interprets the word ἐπιστολαῖς εἰπομέναις by ταῖς εἰπιστολαῖς γραφουίς ταῖς εἰπομέναις, ἐργῷ δὲ ἐν πολίμῳ μῆθαι εἰπομέναις. And SCHLEFER calls this much better than REISKE who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, promising large reinforcements which were never sent. D’OLIVET again refers it to the letters sent to mercenary soldiers containing promises never to be fulfilled. MR. KENNEDY’s note is: “Literally *written in letters*, that is promised to the generals or allies, but never sent. Comp. Shaks. Henry IV., part ii., act 1.:

“We fortify in paper, and in figures,  
Using the names of men instead of men.”

It may not be out of place to suggest a new interpretation. From a previous note we see that all males from 18 to 60 were enrolled for service. These were all military men *on paper*, but when a levy came for active service, few could be found. I would then suggest that he refers here to these lists of men. Any one who

[Page 5.]

has heard of the immense levies during the late American war, will have some idea of a *paper army*.

[Ἄλλ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἵσται.] *But (a force) which shall belong to the state,* a much finer reading than “ἄλλη ἡ = ἄλλα μόνον σόλους δοῦ,”—REISKE. “The reference is to a force which shall not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian.”—ARNOLD.

[Ἐσται ἡ ἀπὸ κ. τ. λ.] *And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c.* Τὴν τοιούτην includes here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in Cæsar is *frumentum militibus metiri*.

[Καὶ πῶς τινεῖται ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἵσται?] *And how will it wish to do this?* i. e. how shall this force act as “one of the city,” and not as mercenary? The common reading is ἐπλήσσεται. Ποιῶν ταῦτα relates to ἀλλ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἵσται—ἀκαλούθουσι.

[Ξένος πειράγματα.] *I say, the necessary soldiers.* The orator here puts the most popular branch of the army first, as the Athenian proper was too indolent to fight, if he could hire anybody to do it for him.

[Καὶ διπλεῖ μή ποιήσετε.] *Take care that you do not.* Cf. XEN. ANAB. 7, 3. “Οποιος εἰναιστε ἀριστεῖ. In each case the verbs depend upon διπλεῖ. Also, PHIL. iii. p. 130; διπλεῖ μή ποιεῖ ἀνα, ποιεῖ μηδεὶς ἀνάγκη γενήται.

[Ἄλλα ταῦτα ποιεῖτε... φοινητα.] *But having done and provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.*

[Ἄγω τῷ.] *I say then. Δηλοῦται.* He now resumes his argument, having purposely said as little as he could about mercenaries, but instead speaks of the army as a whole, in which, however, mercenaries were to form three-fourths.

[ΜΕ τῷ ἀν τονειστεῖται ἡ Λακεδαιμονία... οὐδὲ.] *Of whatever age men shall go to war.* Πλούταρχος μαρτυρεῖ, τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν. HER. i. 209. THUC. vii. 60, viii. 75. “On reaching the age of twenty, every Athenian citizen was registered in his proper *ēphēs*, and in the temple of Aegina took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, as a citizen or soldier. The military power was accordingly divided into forty-two commandments (*phyleis*), each of which was named after the Archon under whom it was registered.

## [Page 5.]

No distinction was made. Rich and poor, noble and ignoble, and even philosophers were compelled to fight. Plato, Socrates, Eсхylus and Sophocles, were soldiers. All served without pay, but Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to this ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed." *Abridged from SMEAD.*

Χρόνον τακτὸν . . . . . μὴ μαρτίν . . . . . ἀλλὰ διονυκ. τ. 2.] Observe how skilfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good*. His object was to get the plan adopted, and leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. Ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, "by way of relieving each other = *ricissim*." ARNOLD. On the case of ἀλλήλοις see JELF. 593, 1, 2. Cf. THUC. vii. 27. Κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρήσον, which is the more usual construction. For another example of the dative, XEN. CYR. i. 4, VEMEL. See also XEN. ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἵππους.

## [Page 6.]

Ἴππεις διακοσίοις.] *Two hundred cavalry*, or in a proportion of one to ten, which was the usual way. VEMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was about one in fourteen. No difference was made in the length of service among the Greeks, but the Roman cavalry served only ten campaigns, the foot soldiers twenty. DICT. ANT. s. v. ARMY.

Τοιχάχιστον. For construction of this and similar words, see JELF. 579, 6.

Ἐτερ. *How hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. Ετερ, καὶ δὴ τετταρεῖ. SOPH. (Ed. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said.

Ταχεῖαις τριήρεις δέκα.] *Ten swift triremes*, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong, so as to be able to manoeuvre with ease and despatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while the ἵππαγωγοί generally carried sails.

Δεῖ γάρ . . . . . ἵππον.] *For since he has a naval force, we, too, must have ships of war.* Philip, by gaining access to the ports of Thessaly, had the means of raising a great naval force, and the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangaeus was applied for some time to building a force sufficient to cope with Athens on her

[Page 6.]

own element. 'Hūv. Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after an impersonal, SOPH. ANT. 732.

[Ἄσθετο.] *Without danger.* Hence his request for ten ships to accompany them.

[Ἔτεινετο.] *Δτείνετο* is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 723, 2.

[Τίκτεινετο.] *Accepimus divitias, tantum.* SCHLAFER. *So every small.* Αποτίετο. This word is now written without the *t* subscript, and is the regular infinitive of *ἀποτίεσθαι*, the Ionic being *ἀποχρῆν*. BOEHL. *Corp. Inscript.*

[Πολεμοῦσθαι.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make *πολεμοῦσθαι* subject, and *τίκτεινετο* predicate. But translate, *And why I order the citizens to make military excursions.* True, all the force was not Athenian, but there were 500 of them, and an orator speaking to please could very well pass over the other 1500.

[Τικτέτο.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, see, *κελεύω*.

[Ἐντο.] For *ἐντο*. The accent is thrown back to distinguish it from the preposition, *participle* from *ἐν*. Also when a preposition stands after the word it governs, the accent is thrown back.

[Πολεμοῦσθαι.] *A force to be drawn up in battle array* *αὐτοῦ*, *not him*, to be contrasted with *πορεύεσθαι* following, which means to *cross an enemy* by piratical excursions. His advice, then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. *πολεμοῦσθαι* with HER. ix. 31. *Oi δὲ ἀυτὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσαντο ὁδε.*

[Τὴν πρώτην.] =Primum. Cf. OL. iii. 29. HER. iii. 134.

[Οἱ ταῦτα πορεύεσθαι.] *There is no necessity that this should be necessary, nor ought it to be without contemptible.*

[Οὐδὲ μη πορεύεσθαι.... τοιούτῳ.] *Because I have heard that the state can best open a necessary road at Corinthus.* This was during the war of the allies against Sparta in 395 B. C. On the Spartan side Allies left the army, and during the course of the war captured Lechaeum, and Ceraunus, the ports of Corinth, together with Crenaeum, and Siles, and finally shot up the allies in Corinth. It was during this war that Iphicrates with his pal-

[Page 6.]

tasts defeated a *mora* of Lacedæmonian horse, and for a time renewed the courage of the allies. Iphicrates commanded the mercenary troops until the year 392, when he was succeeded by Chabrias. JACOBS says that Polystratus must have been associated in command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. PLAUT. v. 173. Some read for Πολύτροπος, Polutropos, from XIX. HIST. while others again propose Callistratus, from DRM. *Contra Tim.* p. 1187. The war was ended by the peace of Antalcidas. B. C. 357.

*'Εξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ . . . γεγόνασιν.] But from the time that your mercenaries have warred alone for you, they have conquered both friends and allies, and your enemies have increased to a portentous extent. 'Εξ οὗ=ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου. Εξ οὗ. Ex quo tempore.*

*Παρακύφαρτα.] Having negligently attended to the wars of our commonwealth, have gone away, &c.* The verb *παρακύπτειν* is to *perform* anything *loosely* and *in a hurry*, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISKE. Another critic gives it the meaning of *θρύπτειν*, *delicias facere*, but this is hardly probable. As to the general estimation in which these mercenaries were held, you may learn from ISO-*crates*, who calls them *κοινός ἀπάρτων ἀρθρώπων ἐχθρούς*. WOLF.

*Πρὸς Ἀρταβαζὸν.]* The Social War broke out in 357 B.C. by the revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes from the Athenian league. The conduct of the war was given to Chabrias, who sailed away to Chios, but was almost immediately slain (LELAND B. i. sc. iii.) After some quarrelling between Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares, the latter at length, in 356, succeeded to the command. He set out with a large fleet to attack the islands, but having no money, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of his soldiers, and hire them to Artabazus, satrap of Daskylion, then in revolt against the king of Persia. By their aid Artabazus defeated Tithraustes, the general of the Persians, and Chares was so handsomely remunerated that all parties returned to Athens in great glee. But the king of Persia sent envoys to state he would assist the enemies of Athens in the war, on account of the aid lent by Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages to the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in 355 B. C. GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

[Page 6.]

Οὐέτι στρατηγός. *And the general follows.* “Δέ connects notions of which the second is distinguished from the first, but not *opposed* to it.” ARNOLD.

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, naturally.*

Τὰς πολιτικές . . . . παρακαταστήσαντες.] *Take all cause of offence from both general and soldiers, provide party, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.*

Ἐπόπταις. *Inspectors, exquisite dictum, nam sic illi, qui majoribus mysternis iniciati erant appellabantur.* FRANKE. ESCH. PROM. 298. Καὶ σὲ τὴν τόρον ἴμων ἵστε εἰπόπτης: The word was also used proverbially, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOPH. RAN. 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες, περικιτιστήσαντες. Malum simileius. παμπτήσαντες. REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHLEFER.

Ἐπει τοῦτο γέτε.] *Since now it is laughable how we manage our affairs.* Cf. Ηούτε γέλοτα. *To make a joke.*—HESIODOTUS.

Ἄλλα Φιλίππων.] “These words, ‘we carry on war with Philip,’ must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Eubœa, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (OL. 106, 3), (the proper date is OL. 107, 3) and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s advance to Thermopylae (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in Thrace (OL. 106, 1), amounted to an indirect declaration of war.” ARNOLD. But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive to Athens. He had seized the sacred galley at Marathon and besieged Heræum, besides other overt acts of war against them.

Οἵσις ἐκπατέρεις δέ . . . . ἔόντες;] *Are you not astonished to elect from among yourselves ten archarchs, and generals and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and, as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by χιουοτοιά. This was the usual way of electing men for the public service, but in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of *privilegium*, it was necessary that the voting should be by ballot, δῆμος. The generals were almost always ten in number, and in the time of the Persian wars exercised command of the army one day each in turn. HCU.

[Page 6.]

vi. 110. But in the later years, as in the time we are speaking of, two or at most three were sent out. Three generals, Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in 356, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and Chares were sent out. However, the two former were not intended to command, but simply to give advice to Menestheus. Taxiarchs were so called from commanding a *τάξις*, which was the principal division of the Athenian hoplites. The Phylarchs were appointed to superintend the management of the cavalry, and subjected to the control of the Hipparchs in the same way as the Taxiarchs were to the generals. They were originally only four, but when the tribes were increased to ten, a similar number of them was required. Hipparchs were generals of the cavalry, and exercised supreme authority over the Phylarchs. They were always two in number. ARIST. AV. 799. Sometimes in foreign wars, only one was appointed.—HER. vii. 154. For further particulars see DICT. ANT. s. *vv.*

Πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

[Page 7.]

Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμποντιν ἐντο.] *The rest marshal the processions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἀγειν with the words *χορόν* *έσπρτην*, *πομπήν*. This latter word applied to all the public processions of the year. Τεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed annually, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Panthenaea. There was also a higher rank of them who sacrificed to the Eumenides. These last were chosen by open vote, and did not slay the victims themselves, but only performed at the commencement of the sacrifice.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially mentioned by DEM. *contra Meid.* 552.

\*Ωσπερ γὰρ.... τὸν πόνεμον.] *For as puppet makers, you appoint your generals for the market not for the war.* These images made of clay and baked much in the same way as *terra cotta* (SAUPPE) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called *κυροπλάσται*, and *πηγοπλάσται*, and doubtless generals and soldiers

## [Page 7.]

were represented as well as other kinds of images. All were exposed for sale in the market place, which gives more point to the sarcasm of Demosthenes, as these generals of theirs were busied in the market attending to the processions. In confirmation see " *Luc. Leopoldus*, T. ii. p. 347. Τοιούτοις οὐαρτοῖς εἴποι τοις  
εἰδόσις τοις ἡγεμονοῖς παραδίδεις, κεραυνοῦσις περ τοις  
εἴποι τοις τῷ καταρρεύσει, τὸ δὲ λέπτον πιστός τοις εἰπεντοῖς οὖτις." SCHLÆFER.

[*On γένοις . . . οὐδεμίαις.*] *But was it not necessary that your own numbers of divisions should be of yourselves, your leaders of country of yourselves, your generals, leaders of your own, that therefore might really be one of the commonwealth?* On γένοις with interrogatives, see JELLE, 872, i. " *Εχοῦσιν οὐδεμίας = Οὐδεμίας εσσι, ατομαστοῦ; Εχοῦσιν δὲ οὐδεμίας οὐδεμίας, ατομαστοῦ.*"—FRASER. " *Ιτά  
ίητε*—on this particle with the Ind. see JELLE, 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. OED, REX, 1187. Eum. Hym. 647. Dica. p. 857. " *Ιτά τι λύγετε λαζαλεύσαντος.*" i. p. 849. " *Ιταπέτε λαζεύ Μητραίσσετε.*" Observe that ἀτομαστοῦ is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

'ΑΖΩ' τοι Αθηναῖ! From THUC. vii. 57, we learn *ατομαστοῖς αἰτίαις* and *ατομαστοῖς λαζαλεύσασι*. A few years before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians sent a deputation to the oracle at Delphi, asking if they should go to war with the Persians. The oracle replied, " *Ατομαστοῖς αἰτίαις* ατομαστοῖς λαζαλεύσασι. " And since such was the case it would be more than likely that an animal deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in processions which we learn were celebrated there with great and magnificent display.—PHILESTRAITS HISTO. xix. 14. Lemnos had been taken and colonized a few years before the battle of Marathon.—HIST. vi. 140. GROSE's explanation of this expression is: " *Aτομαστοῖς* is: 'It seems, as if it had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way, and avoiding the performance of a duty;' and so he interprets the present passage. But, as WHITLOS remarks, he adduces no authority for his statement, and is quite mistaken, as the expression did not mean that. True, *ἀτομαστοῖς* in the islands of the *Τραγούς* was often pleaded for delay, but if we except Σαμοθράκη we find no trace of any such term as proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a bad case at law,

[Page 7.]

and absconded, the euphemism was ἐν Λήμνῳ ἦ ἐν Ἰμβρῷ εἴρετο. HESYCH. In DEM. *contra OLYMPIOD.* p. 1174, we find that Olympiodorus was compelled to go with the army to Acarnania, which makes it appear that generals were sometimes sent away to avoid disagreeable law suits.

*Μενέλαον.*] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and Cygnæa, and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Arideus; but "Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονισθαι, nisi qui esset Atheniensis; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ἔραγός non fuit κεχειροτονημένος."—SCHÄFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorem Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere. "The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army of observation despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylae, is said to have been the half brother of the Macedonian King, spoken of by JUSTIN and HARPOCRATIUS, s. v. *Μενέλαος*. D'OLIVET, on the other hand, remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best of terms with his brothers, the Athenians would scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. It seems, however, certain that this Menelaus was a foreigner."—ARNOLD. "But the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners. An example of this was Charidemus of Oreus."—SMEAD. This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra ARISTOC.* he is expressly called θετὸν πολίτην, *an adopted citizen.*

*Περαίω.*] This then I shall now proceed to show. Περαῖο is the reading of REISKE, in his first edition; in the second, περαῖναι. And justly, since περαῖναι like εἰμι=ib, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

*Χρήματα τοῖν τοῖν.*] For the case of this word see JELP. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that it is subdivided into οἱ τοῦ οἱ, with στηρίσον in apposition.

*Τάλαντα τρισκατακοινονικά τοῦ περιβολεῖ.*] A little more than 90 talents. There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Eubœan and Aegean. The talent mentioned is the first of these,

[Page 7.]

whose value may be stated at £243 15s. sterling. The Attic coins have been fully treated of by Mr. Hussey; and from him we find that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm 9*½*d. nearly; 100 drachms, a mina, £3 1s. 3d.; and 60 mina a talent, £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would, therefore, be £22,425. \$100,120. II. *ε* an aorist verb, cf. EUR. OR. 622. *Μέλλει τοι τοιούτοις διατάξεις τηρεῖσθαι*. PHEN. 610. *καὶ κατακτεῖν γε πρόσθις.*

*Τοιούτοις διατάξεις.*] *For each month.* Genitive of time.

*Εἰ δὲ τοιούτοις διατάξεις τηρεῖσθαι* *But if any one thinks that to procure ration money for the soldier is a small provision for the war, &c.* This passage appears corrupt, and an article is clearly wanted to define which is subject to the verb *διατάξειν*. It may be doubted, as BARKER remarks, whether it is good Greek without the article.

*Οι δὲ τοιούτοις διατάξεις.*] Demosthenes did well to add this paragraph, as the Athenian armies being so badly paid, would have very little hesitation in plundering their allies in the Aegean Sea. They made war support itself, but generally their friends, not their enemies, suffered the consequences.

*Καὶ διατάξεις.*] DIOSCORIDES reads *τοιούτοις διατάξεις*, and encloses all from *τοιούτοις* to *διατάξεις* in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HELMICHEN, which thus establishes their claim and the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHNEIDER. In the great variety of readings for the passage I have adopted what seemed the best, and on the common reading will remark that the absence of any conjunctive particle would lead to the supposition that it was wrong. HEGESIAS, p. 347, has *τοιούτοις διατάξεις τηρεῖσθαι*, *τοιούτοις διατάξεις τηρεῖσθαι*, for which REISKE has corrected *τοιούτοις διατάξεις*, as we have given in the text. *\*Erythros* see JELF, 376.

*Ηρακλεῖον διατάξεις.*] After these words a new oration begins, according to DIOS. HALICARN. (v. 1. Asia, 1, 10) which he states to have been delivered in the Archonship of Themistocles, 347-6 B.C. But the evidence is all the other way, and even an epitome of the arguments would be too large for these notes. The only thing necessary to be said is that of the heading of the oration given by DIOSCORIDES: *Τοιούτοις διατάξεις διατάξεις διατάξεις*

[Page 7.]

Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς οὐδακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ πόλεων, it would not be the *sixth*, but the *fifth*, and that not one word is said to justify the title *regarding the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont*. We may conclude, then, that the oration which we have is a unit, and that DIONYSIUS either made a gross blunder, or alluded to some oration not now extant having the heading which he has given for the remainder of this one. Further particulars will be found in TOURREIL, AUGER, BEKKER, BREMI, SCHLEFER and WINIEWSKI.

Δεδυνάμεθα εἰρεῖν.] *Have been able to discover.* The information was probably derived from the πορσταί who levied the extraordinary contributions on the Athenians, and from their report the γραμματεῖς had read the ἀπόδειξις immediately given before, which had been prepared by Demosthenes himself from information derived from them. For δεδυνάμεθα, δυνάμεθα is given in some editions.

Ἐπειδὰν δὲ . . . . . χειροτονήσατε.] *And when you vote upon the propositions of the speakers, vote whichever one pleases you.* The orator does not wish to force them to adopt his motion in preference to any other, but let them choose for themselves, as in that case they will be the more likely to carry out their decree.

[Page 8.]

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι κ. τ. λ.] *It seems to me that you would deliberate much better regarding the war and the whole preparation for it, &c.* Τὸν τόπον, *the situation of the country.* TAYLOR in his preface to REISKE, suggests τρόπον, but τρόπος is never said *de situ regionis*. The word τόπον here is said by REISKE to mean the same as a later word, τοποθεσία, used by DIOD. SIC. περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ' Αλγυπτον χώρας.

Καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἑτησίας κ. τ. λ.] *And watching the Etesian winds and the winter, attacks you when, &c. τοὺς ἑτησίας.* “Every year a regular *trade-wind* blows from the N.W. eight days before the rising of the Dog Star (July 12). These gales were called Prodomoi. About two days after its rising the same winds, under the name of Etesian, blow steadily through the Dog-days, tempering the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a northerly voyage.” VEMEL. The Athenians would thus be

[Page 8.]

prevented from going north at this season, and Philip could the more easily sweep down upon them.

*Δε τοι τέλος, τ. 3.]* You must not, therefore, *knowing these things, make war by hurried hastes*, for you shall be hasted-hast in according; *hast, &c.* *ταχεῖς*, *hasty*, *soldiers*, collected suddenly for driving off an enemy. *Ῥάσσα*, *Στρατοῦ* *στρατοί*, ita tum repentina *σαρκίς* *σπαλαστρί*. *Λιν. 3. 1.* Opposed here to *ταχεῖς* *στρατοί*, *i. e.* *θέσιν* *τοῦ* *ταχεῖς* *στρατοῦ* *ταχεῖς* *στρατοῖς*, *6a.* *P. 44.* *ταχεῖς στρατοί*, *i. e.* *ταχεῖς* *στρατοί* *ταχεῖς* *στρατοῖς*, *ταχεῖς* *στρατοῖς*. *p. 45.*" *ΣΑΥΡΡΑ*, *Ταχεῖς*. The Athenian plan hitherto was to come with assistance when the town was taken, as was the case with Chares and Olynthus.

*Ταχεῖς δὲ λατεῖς, τ. 3.]* And you must not for winter quarters for the army, *Λινον. 6a.* All these islands were in the northern part of the *Εὔρυ*, off the coasts of Macedonia and Thessaly. *Κατατείληται ταχεῖς ταχεῖς ταχεῖς*, *Σαυρρα*, *Βαλτεῖς*, *Περιάρθυ* and *Σεύρε*, for all of these were under the sway of Athens at this time. *Χαρακός* *δάσος*, governed by *χαρακός*, *λιβανός*—winter quarters, *i. e.*, *ταχεῖς*, *ταχεῖς* *ταχεῖς* *ταχεῖς* *ταχεῖς* *ταχεῖς* *ταχεῖς*. *ΕΤΥΜ. M.*

*Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ ταχεῖς . . . λαοῦ.]* But at that season of the year when it is easy to approach the land, and no danger from the winds; the soldiers may approach to the very region, and the outposts of his posts. *Σοῦρον* states that *οἰνοπάτερ* here means *στρατούς* *στρατούς*, and adopts the translation of *WOLF*, as given above. *Ταχεῖς* *στρατούς*—*ταχεῖς* *στρατούς*, *i. e.* for military operations, *ταχεῖς* with *ταχεῖς*, and *ταχεῖς* always having this meaning. *Ελεύθερος* with *ταχεῖς* means to be employed on with the notion of activity. *BERNHARDY*, *Gr. p. 263.*

*Ταχεῖς δέ μηπερ τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰ τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰ τοῦ λαοῦ*. Cf. *εἰναί* *Λιν. 1. p. 170.* *Ταχεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ* *τοῦ λαοῦ*. *PIND. OLY. ii. 65.* *ταχεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ*. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the *very moment* in which a thing is done.

*Αἰ τοῦ λαοῦ.* Which I have proposed, *να*, in the *λαοῦ* which had just been read. *Τοῦ λαοῦ*. The genitive of cause or agency, denoting the *agent* by or *through* whom the thing takes place. Latin *a* or *ab* with the ablative. *THUC. iv. 64.* *τοῦ λαοῦ* *να*

[Page 8.]

Παρ' ιμω̄r denotes all that issues from any one, as commands, commissions, gifts, presents. Latin ex. with the ablative.

\*Αν ταῦτα πορίσητε.....ἀ λέγω.] If you will first provide this money which I mention. This is the best order of the words for translation.

\*Εντελῆ.] Complete, full, the whole entire force. Cf. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 1367. Also THUC. vi. 45, ἐσκέπασσεν εἰς τελῆς ἐστιν.

Νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ πέμψετε.] And compel them by law to remain at the war, i. e. to give their whole attention to the war for your sakes, and not to run away pirating on their own account. Νόμῳ κατακλείσιν, to compel by law. ANDOC. p. 24, ANTIQ. p. 19.

Τῶν μὲν χοημάτων, αὐτοὶ ταρίαι καὶ πορισταί.] Yourselves becoming the receivers and treasurers of the money. The arrangement of the finances from this would seem to have been in the hands of the generals. JACOBS. Demosthenes advises the people to assume them, and to allow the general to attend to his own duties. The various impositions upon the general are well given by VÖMEL. Qui non solum exercitui expeditionique praerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quaestuariam, frumentum, stipendum, omnemque victimum per questores, ministros, servos, et scribas curabat.

Τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες.] DINDFORF for ζητοῦντες. Requiring an account from, &c. All persons at Athens who held a public situation were required to give in an account to the λογισταί or τὸν υἱὸν, a board of directors, of the manner in which they discharged their duties; and so strict were they in demanding this, that until the account and vouchers were approved, the officer was not allowed to make a will, to dispose of any property, or receive any public honour or reward. If he failed to send in an account in thirty days after the expiration of his term of service, he was liable to impeachment (ἀλογισμὸς ζητη.) When he had given in his accounts and they were audited, he was generally honourably dismissed (ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.)—DEM. DE CORONA, p. 310. Or an accuser might come forward.—DEM. c. MILB. p. 542. The various terms employed were εἰσηγαγεῖς ἀποτελεῖν, εἴη θέρας ἀπότελειν, εἰσθέρας ἀπέλασθαι, εἰσθέρας ἀπλεῖν, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation while in the office.

[Page 8.]

*Kai oīcēr πάλιον ποιοῦντες.] And doing nothing more.*

[*Ἐκείνοις*] *Philip.* 'Από τοι . . . . σενίκι ψωρ. *He fights with you with reserves derived from your allies, &c.* Αγων κτι φίρων. Latin *reperi et trahere.*—DEMOSTHENES, p. 1232. Ηάπτας ἀθρώπονς ἀγα  
καὶ φίσαι—EX. ii. 374. *Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama.* This is the Homeric ἀγοῦσι καὶ φίσουσι, of which we have another form in IL. v. 484. φίσουσι Αχιοι ἡ κεράσσεν. The Latin equivalent of this being *ferre et rapiere.* LAV. xxii. 3, postquam res socio-  
rum ante oculos prope suos ferri a gigno vidit. See also LIV. iii. 37.

*Tοὺς τηλοταραγ.] More than a dozen.*—SAUPPE. *Your mer-  
chantmen upon the sea.*

*Τοῦ τηλοταραγ . . . . ἔτοι γενήτερον.] You will be placed beyond  
this reach. Cf. the military term ἔτοι βλάστον γένεσθαι. XEN. AN. 2, 6.  
ARNOLD.*

*Τὸν τηλοταραγ τούτον.] In just time. The acc. of time. JELF.  
448, g. Εἰς Αἴγαυον, καὶ Τιμήν οἱ μαρτύρες. None of the historical  
events related here are mentioned by any historian, so that we are  
left to conjecture. BUCHNER, in his Life of Philip, states that all  
these attacks had been made by pirates in the service of Philip.  
(SMEAD.) LECHEINT supposes that they took place in OL. 105.3,  
WISIELSKI in OL. 106.4, quoting the words of *Æschines de Fals.*  
LIV. p. 37. Φίλαττοις διαρρήκται Μαρτύρες οἱ τοῦ Αποτελε-  
σαντος τοῖς θυσίαις θυσίαις, οἵτινες τοῦ Αἴγαυον, καὶ Τιμῆς, καὶ  
Σεληνοῦ τῶν ιρατίσσων στηματαν. Those again who contend that  
this part of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make  
these events to have taken place in OL. 105.1. The preferable date  
is OL. 106.2.*

*Αἴγαυον τοῦ τηλοταραγ διπέπλων.] And he takes away  
with him, your cities as prisoners of war.—THUC. iii. 70. Τεταῦ  
διπέπλων διπέπλων. Τεταῦ, here equivalent to with. In such  
cases where we use with, the Greeks used φύσων, δύσων, τίπορ, λάβων;  
observing this distinction, that φύσων and λάβων are used of animate  
or inanimate things. XEN. CYR. i. 3; of animate alone δύσων; of  
inanimate φύσων. Ο Κίρος ούτε τίπορ περιηλασε τίπορ δύσων  
ηλθοτε. Ιπποταγάλας τοις τολμηρούς κατέστησεν. cf. JELF. 698.*

*Τρίπολις.] A town and promontory in the southern part of  
Eubœa, with a celebrated temple of Neptune. It was used as a*

## [Page 8.]

port of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four promontories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium, Cenæum. Τὰ πόλια, *merchant vessels*. Ἀριθητα χρήματα ἵξεται. *Collected extravagant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as ARNOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAUPPE. Κακὰ καὶ πράγματα ἀμιθητά μη παρέχων διετίθεσεν.—DEM. *contra Meid.* 520.

*Kai τὴν ιερὴν . . . τριήρην.*] *And went away with the sacred galley.*

In the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel called the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens to the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two in the age of Demosthenes ; several in subsequent times, the number being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate Athenians, who called them *Ammonis*, *Antigonis*, *Demetrias* and *Ptolemais*, to propitiate the favour of kings whom they feared to offend. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were Paralus and Salaminia. They were generally used for carrying ambassadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the admiral's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called Delia and Theoris. ATHENÆUS relates that the Delia was the vessel which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete. ATH. iv. p. 173. The crew received four obols per day, and were paid all the year, although, as BOECKH states in his POLITICAL ECONOMY of the ATHENIANS, they remained nearly all their time at home in idleness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's cruisers.

## [Page 9.]

*Υμεῖς ἔτι οὐτε . . . βοηθεῖν.*] *Διέρασθε* in preference to *ἰδύειασθε*, since the orator not only implies that you did not then prevent, and you are not even now able. Translate. *And you are neither able to prevent these things, nor to send succour, at the times you promised.* “Eἰς=against, *by*, and hence virtually *at* ; but with reference to a future point of time for which arrangements are now made.”—ARNOLD.

*Kαίτοι τι οὐποτε.*] *And yet how pray?* Atqui *quid tandem?* On the particle, see HOOG. *de PART. GRÆC.* p. 283, 7, s.v. *καίτοι*.

[Page 9.]

*Παναθηναῖων.*] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name of *μεγάλα* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πενταετία*) and the other annually commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombaion,—11th to 22d of July. The principal displays were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processions, games, &c., including the lampalephoria, and the procession of the Peplus. Golden crowns were also awarded at the Panathenæa. **DEM.** **DE.** **COR.** 265. See **DICT.** **ANT.** s.v.

*Τιμὴ τῶν Διονυσίων.*] There were four feasts called by this name, I. *Διονυσία κατὰ ἄγρον*. II. *τὰ Λιβύα*. III. *τὰ Αἰγαῖα*. IV. *Διονυσία ἐν ἀστεῖ*. For particulars see **DICT.** **ANT.** s.v.

*Τοῦ κατὰ γοργὸς χρόνον.*] When time is expressed by the gen. it is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action. *Ταῦτα τῇσι ἡμέρᾳ, on this day*: *τῷ τῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, during this day*: *νεκτὸς, at night*; *νεκτα, during the night*. Hence here, *at the proper time*.

*Ἄντε δινοὶ . . . . . ἀντεὶ ἀνθεῖται.*] *ἀντεὶ* *ἀντεὶ*, *sive—sive*. *Δινοὶ, periti, ἀνθεῖται, imperiti.* Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot.*

*Καὶ τοσοῖτον διχορὶ . . . . . ἐλεῖται.*] The order of the words is *καὶ διχορὶ τοσοῖτον κ. τ. λ.* *And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if anything can be compared to it.* “*Οἰχοὶ* refers to the crowds attending the festival, *παρατρέπει* to the costly preparations, dresses, ships, &c. —**ARNOLD.** *Oīcōi dī,* *meccōi an,* and compare **VIRG.** **EN.** ii. 735. *Hic mihi a se ipso* *trahi lo malum numen,* for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, **SAUPPE** mentions that in one year (O. 92, 3) the Aridotheræ drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

*Ταῦτα διατρέπονται . . . . . τὰς κατεῖπεν.*] *That all your expeditious are too late for any use, as, &c.* *Ταῦτα διατρέπονται, estis venire, cum classis post tempus exiret.*—**DISSEN.**

*Πατασαῖ.* “*Patrasæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lyceophron, tyrant of Thessaly.*” **O. 106, 4.** *We*

[Page 9.]

may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons ; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were too tardy in their operations to be of any service."—JACOBS.

Χερηγός ἡ γρασίαρχος.] For these words see DICT. ANT. s. vv. Τῆς γρέης, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

Οὐδὲν . . . ἡμέρηται.] *Nothing is negligently left unarranged and in h[er]finite about these.* Τοις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi rōmouς.—REISKE. Immo τῶν est neutrius generis.—SCHÄFER. Observe the alliteration of the words immediately following, ἀπάκτα, ἀδιάργωτα, ἀόριστα, ἀπαρτα. This is common in most languages, and was the distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

"Who often, but without success, have prayed

For apt alliteration's artful aid."—CHURCHILL.

Τοις αποῖν ἀγα . . . τι.] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, i. e. any movement of the enemy. Observe now how artfully the orator arranges his words. We appoint trierarchs. They are dissatisfied, we make exchanges ; as soon as this last is arranged, we look about for a supply of money, and when the money is provided the strangers and resident foreigners are called upon to embark ; then they themselves should embark, and during all this time, the occasion is lost forever.* Τριηρίποντος. This was one of the extraordinary liturgies (ἱκιάνη τετροπία) to which the Athenians were subject, and consisted in equipping and manning a trireme for an entire year ; sometimes two or more persons were united the same purpose. It was considered a disgrace for a man to do no more than his duty according to law in the fitting out of a trireme, and many of the wealthy Athenians ruined themselves by voluntary trierarchies, and the expense attending them. After 358 the trierarchy was managed by means of a general property tax, the same as all the other liturgies, by boards called συμμορίαι.

Ἀντιθέσεις.] An exchange of all property by one Athenian citizen with another. This took place when any Athenian who was voted for an extraordinary liturgy, thought that a more wealthy one had been omitted. He then might challenge this one to

[Page 9.]

undertake the liturgy; and if he refused, to submit to an entire change of property. The party challenged could of course object, and, in the case of the trierarchy, the trial was held before the strategi on a fixed day. The matter was fully discussed, and if the challenger made good his cause, the interchange must be made in three days, which might be extended at the will of either party. No concealment of assets was allowed, except shares in the mines at Laurium, which were excepted from all liturgies. If the matter could not be arranged before the strategi, a regular trial (*δικη*) before the dicasts was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that any change took place. Of course if the claims were affected, the challenger had then to carry on the liturgy from the proceeds of his new property. Months were often, however, consumed before anything could be done towards preparing the liturgy.—See DICT. ANT. s. v.

*Métētēi.* *Resident foreigners*—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Piraeus, and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (*πατρίς*), who not only defended him in law, but was answerable for his conduct to the State. Each family was subject to an annual tax of twelve drachmae, and aliens were liable to the liturgies, and in other respects were taxed in the same manner as the citizens. They had also to serve in the army, and at times performed certain rites to symbolize their condition, and show their relation to the Athenian citizens. One of these was the Hydriaphoria.

*Τοιούτων διατίθεται.]* *The foreigners living apart from their old masters.*—WOUF. “*Sons living in their own houses and enjoying a separate property, with their fathers more still often.*” REISKE. “*Strangers dwelling in the Attic territories.—Athens.*” These three explanations have been given and I have adopted the first. PAULUS, quoting this passage, says: *αὐτοὶ δένται αὐτοῖς διατίθεται, οὐ τοῖς πατέρεσσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς.* Again in DEM. IN ELEN. p. 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a master (*διδάσκαλος*) *τοῦ οὐροῦ πατρὸς Θεούκλεα, καὶ χωρὶς φέκει καὶ ἀνδραὶ ἐσχειν.* From

[Page 9.]

this explanation of Photius, and the remarks of DEM. as quoted, the reading of WOLF will be seen to be the most correct.

*Ἐτερ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.]* And whilst these matters are protracted. \*Οσῳ in dat. sc. χρόνῳ. Μέλλεται, denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.

*Οἱ δὲ τῶν . . . εἰφωρείαν.]* For εἰφωρείαν many manuscripts give ραθυμίαν, For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion. DOBREE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ ποίειν, οἱ κατροῦ ὡν μεντοί, and LIVY, xxxi. 48. Non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.

*Τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνων.]* The intervening time, i.e. while you are collecting a larger force.—ARNOLD. VÖMEL translates the whole passage thus: “But in the intervening time, the forces, which we think we have, are found to be of no avail when the necessity for them arises. ‘Ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν καρπῶν. In the very crisis of this emergency. “By the ‘resources’ on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting anything on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which were sure to arise.”—JACOBS.

*Οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν θ' . . . ἐπιστόλας.]* And he has arrived at so great a pass of insolence, as to send such letters already to the Eubœans. From these remarks, we may gather that the letters in question were not very complimentary to Athens. JACOBS regrets that the letters are lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOB’s note in ARNOLD.

*Τοιῶν . . . ὡς οὐκ ἔδει.]* The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true. Ως οὐκ ἔδει are used parenthetically, and have been here translated unfortunately.

*Οὐ μήτε ἀλλά.]* On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Οὐ μήτε, yet, nevertheless, verantamen, ἀλλά in sooth, surely, vere. Οὐ μήτε denies something gone before, ἀλλά opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is, yet, if not true, still, &c., Cf. DEM. de FALS. LEG. Οὐ μήτε, ἀλλά δει τοιούτης ἀρχῆς, συνεργοῖς σης. Cf. also EPIS. PHIL DEM. p. 161. Οὐ μήτε ἀλλά εἰ δει πάντα τὰλλα παραίτησά συντέμως εἰπεῖν.

[Page 9.]

Ἄλλ' εἰ περ, . . . . . ἡπερβίτεραι.] *But if anyone, by passing over whatever would give offence in his speech, could also do away with the facts, then should he always harangue them for their pleasure.*

Ἄντι γὰρ προσίκουτα.] *If it be at an unseasonable time.* Ἐργα ζημία γίγνεται. *In very truth becomes hurtful.*

[Page 10.]

Φεραίζειν.] From φέρειν, *a cheat, import.* The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 73, in the same meaning as here, *cheating, or deceiving, or deluding.*

Kαὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο . . . . . προγνωστῶν.] *And not even *able* to understand this, that it is the *duty* of those who rightly manage a war, not to follow the events of events, but anticipate them, i.e., not to waste their time in unavailing efforts to gain a petty advantage, but to arrange their affairs in such a manner as to be ready for every contingency.* Cf. LIV. ix. 18, *At hercule regis, non fieri solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temperante, trahunt consilii cuncta, non sequuntur.*—ARNOLD. *Ἐμποσθεῖσται = antecedit, ut, to anticipate.*—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν περ ἐμπροσθειν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὅπισθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αἰτόντα τρόπον ὡς πει, . . . . . διν.] = *Perinde ac si, just as if.* For ὡς πει WOLF conjectures ὡς πειρ, which occurs in D. RE. CHIERS, p. 94. Τὸν αἰτόντα τρόπον ὡς πει (π' Οὐαὶ τούτοις), but ὡς πει occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 13, and in the present oration p. 46.

Καὶ μὴ τὰ . . . . . διέκειν.] *And not be compelled to follow what *happens.** Τὰ σὺν βάρυτα = *cases of great importance.* Cf. pro BALB. 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above, Καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο . . . . . προγνωστῶν. Cf. HHR. vii. 49. Μάλισται εἰ μηδὲ τὰς λαϊκὰς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ εἰδὲ διῆργε τὰς συναρτήσεις. FRANKE. Demosthenes must have had Philip in his mind when he spoke these words, for many years afterwards in his DE CORONA, p. 305, he said: Τὰς τε τὰς φιλικὰς συναρτήσεις, τηλεονταντὴν τοιούτην λαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν εἰδεῖς εἰπομένην δέν, οὐ τοιούτης τὰς πόλεμον μέγιστον ἔστων ἀπάντων.

Πλειστὴν διεργατὴν.] For the number of vessels which Athens would provide, see DEM. DE SYM. p. 186. In fact, a journal of that whole oration will supply ample proof of the πλειστὴν διεργατὴν here spoken of.

[Page 10.]

Οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb *ἀπολείπω* occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied, I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command ; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore are inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE states he does not understand this passage ; what is understood ? WOLF seems to have understood *πολεμίου*. *Nullum non hostem assectamini, ubicunque videtis concurri, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says : *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes *δὲ* into *οὐκ*, *Nullam rem non serius facitis.* SCHLEFER calls this foolish, and says *οὐδὲν δὲ* is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER's translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil autem non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *And yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere*, and his long note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating it : *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.*

Ὥσπερ οἱ Βάρβαροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises in the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD.

Τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to*. Cf. THUC. i. 140. Τῆς γνώμης ἔχωμαι. Τοῦ ρόμου ἔχεσθαι. EUR. OR. 504.

Ἐκεῖσθε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖντες.] *There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is : That the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were ;

[Page 10.]

and as, one by one, he wrested their possessions from them, they bemoaned their sad lot, but made no attempt to resist him. Παρβάλλεσθαι ἐν ἡβλίπτειν ἵνα τοῖον, but to be on his guard or look his opponent in the face. “Παρβάλλεσθαι = παρεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. HALOGRAT. s.v. *To guard or ward off with the hands.*” SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 879. Ταύτην τὸν οὐτεί επει τροπιζόλλειν εῖτε τοιούτην. XEN. CYR. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ παιδίου εἰσεῖτε προβάλλεσθαι ἡταπτίποτε πρὸ τούτων ὅτι εἰσεῖτε πληγήτε ποιεῖται.—WHISTON.

*Xiphōrii-p.*] Usually distinguished as *Thracium*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the mainland. It was colonized by the Athenians under Miltiades the contemporary of Peisistratus. Some of the principal towns were Eleus, Malytus, Sestus, Critone, and lastly, Paetya and Cardia. The little stream, *Aegos Potamus*, was also in this Chersonese.

*Στρατηγοῦτε ἀνεκάποι.*] *You run up at Idaea along side of him.* His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do was to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe the asyndeton in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. *Στρατηγοῦτε πεπτιστορ.*] *You are led by him.* “Odioso verbo utitur, quasi Athenienses Philippi metropolitani duces et municipia essent; quod et tampe est et perniciosum.” WOLF. This was a most bitter sarcasm on the Athenians. Philip, by thus leading them about, became, as it were, their general in a war against themselves.

*Ηποτῶντε παρηγότων.*] *Nor do you look forward in any of your affairs.* Various readings and interpretations have been given for this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designedly so, in ποτε . . . . προσέποιτε. These words may be translated *before-hand*. Ηποτῶντε παρηγότων is the reading of some manuscripts, on which WOLF remarks, “Cum pecuniae sunt nervi belli, non incommoda est haec lectio.”

*Ποτείς ἀντί τοιούτων . . . . προσέποιτε.*] *Priusquam . . . . quidam sitis.* ARNOLD. *Before you have been . . . . aware either that . . . . calamity has already befallen you, or is now about to happen.* Absurdum est negligere rem, quae tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHLEFER.

*Νῦν δὲ επίτηδειν . . . . προσέποιτε.*] *Now we have come to such a*

[Page 10.]

crisis, that this is no longer possible. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ζόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἀττίκης τοῦ μὲν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλων ἵπολεῖ-πεται. "Ικτι is used impersonally like *ventum est*, and *πράγματα* is not understood as BARKER suggests. "'Ακριή=Critical point; crisis, *discrimen*." ARNOLD.

Φιλοπραγμασίην.] This is the first time Demosthenes used this term concerning Philip, which he again repeats in OL. i. p. 13, *busy disposition, restlessness*. Cf. PLATO REP. 549. Cf. the language employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

Ἐχοντες κατέστραπται.] Holding what he has already subdued and seized.

Αποχρήν ἔροις ἴμιν δημοσίᾳ.] I verily believe that some of you would be satisfied with that, from which we, as a State, would have incurred shame, cowardice, and every imputation of folly. SMEAD remarks that, "these, however, were the very terms upon which peace was afterwards concluded in 346, and which the orator himself allowed it prudent to accept." Still this was no fault of his. If his advice had been followed now, perhaps in 346 he might have been able to demand better conditions. Ωφληκότες. Οφλισκάρω is used almost always in a technical sense. Διλην όφλ. To be cast in a suit, lose one's cause. But HER. viii. 26. Δειλίην όφλει πρὸς ζασιλῆος. He drew upon himself the reproach of cowardice from the King.

Καὶ τοῦ πλείωνος ὄργημενος.] And ever grasping for more. There is a fine field here for a philologist to trace this root ὄρ through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, a mountain; ὄρη, serum, whey; ὄρνυμ; ὄρτνς, a quail; ὄργη, anger; ὄργια, secret rites; ὄργια, all having the general meaning of rising or extending. In Latin, orior, ordior, porrigo, with the same meanings. German, reichen, rechen. English, reach.

Ἴσως ἀττικάζεσσις ἴμις. . . . . ἀπειρόκατε.] And perhaps he may provoke you, unless you have given up altogether. A bitter sneer at the laziness and inactivity of the Athenians. Cf. AESCH. 23. Τὴν ὑμετέραν ὄργην ἐγκαλέσασθαι. FRANKE.

Περὶ τῶν τιμωρούσασθαι φένπον.] For the purpose of inflicting punishment upon Philip. This intention would of course be adopted

[Page 10.]

and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. Μή ποθεῖν κακός  
ἴπο φέτανον. *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

[Page 11.]

Εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀραιεροῦμεν.] *Shall we then wait for this, and if we  
send empty triremes, and hope from this and that one, do you think  
that all will be well?* Εἴτα is used in asking questions to denote  
the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO, APOL.  
28. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὃ Σώκρατες;

Κατεῖ τρόποντες.] I can hardly think that BARKER is right in his explanation of these words. He says that these vessels were sent out empty to get their mercenaries from foreign parts, and the general alone was with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. 30. Δέσμα ταῖς ἀποστολαῖς ἐγγένεται οὐτα προτελεῖσθαι, as proof of his view, which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all they could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion is *empty, vain useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the τετράς τε καὶ ἑπτάρημος which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. *D. SUBL.* sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ εἴπειν . . . . εἰν.] *Shall we not go forth with at least a part  
of our own soldiers.* Ήντό τοι, *Some one asks.* Demosthenes  
tingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contentione, sive antea  
in familiari de eadem re sermone. Ήντ, denotes motion towards a  
place, and where used with ἀν requires the optative; without it,  
the subjunctive. Ήντ τις οὐδείς is correct. Ήντ τις ἢ οὐδείς is soliloquistic.  
In SOPH. AN. 42, Ήντ γράμμα τοι τέ; ποτὲ here is equivalent  
to ποτι. Compare *ubi gentium*, CIC. in CAT. i.

Εἰπεν ταῖς ἀραιταῖς . . . . δὲ ταῖς ταῖς.] *The war itself will find his  
weak points.* Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. Aperiet et recludet coniecta  
et tumescenscia vietricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum. Τε  
σαθρά, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλασμένα. HESYCH.

Αιδούσαντας ἀκοῖσι ταῖς . . . . τῶν λαγόντων.] *Hearing our orators  
upbraiding and finding fault with each other.* This seems to  
have been a favourite amusement of the Attic orators, and for a  
very good specimen of the Athenian Billingsgate see DEM. de COR.  
p. 269.

[Page 11.]

Οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ήμεν οὐ μή γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] Never at any time shall we get any necessary thing done. Here we have no less than four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehement assertion. On the construction of οὐ μή see JELF. 748. Cf. MARK, xiv. 25. Οὐκετί οὐ μή πώ περ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου. Also LUKE xxii. 16, ACTS xviii. 14.

Καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὑμενές . . . . συναγωνίζεται.] There the favour of the gods, and Fortune fights with us. Εὑμενές. Neut. sing. of adjective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 109. Τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς.

Ψήφισμα κειρόν—Τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας.] These words refer doubtless to many an armament of the Athenians. They were decidedly a nation of talkers at this time, and endeavoured to frighten the enemy by a mere decree for raising troops, and a magnificent number to be called out. The orators fostered this illusion, and as Demosthenes says the enemy laughed at them, and the allies trembled for fear of both friend and foe.

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους.] Many explanations of this accusative have been given. REISKE supplies εἰὰ, which of course makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγένωσι, and changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words would then be strangely out of place. SCHÄFER would make it governed by ὄρῳντες. But all these ways are liable to objection. As to changing readings that should in no case be done unless upon the best authority, which in this case is altogether in favour of the present reading. A simple verbal notion, as JELF. 360 says, is sometimes expressed by a verb and substantive, and the substantive generally contains the required verbal motion. He alludes to the following passages: ΟΕD. COL. 221. ἔνος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὅσ' αὐτῶ. AESCH. AGAM. 815. Υἱόντος ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar Latin construction from PLAUT. MENOECH. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis tactio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366. Τεθνᾶσι τῷ φέβῳ Οηβαίοντος καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ξένους, and then the general meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut prae metu exanimaris.* The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Our allies die from*

[Page 11.]

*very dread of such reinforcements, or to give a still stronger but not a very elegant term, are as afraid as death of such reinforcements.*

[*Ἐν ἀριστῃ.*] *The general*, for in almost all these expeditions he was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had no very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.

[*Ὑπεραγόντες εἰς τοις στρατοῖς.*] *But it is possible to promise, and to talk glibly, and to blame such an one and such another.* Μέντης is much stronger than δέ, being equal to *but I am sure*. [*Ὑπεραγόντες.*] Generals even in the present time are given to this, and if history be impartial, the events of the late years will find some who deserve to be handed down to posterity as well as Charles. The *Αἱ Χαράτων οὐ πάντες* being a proverb, as we learn from SAUPPE *ad ZENOB.* ii. 13.

[*Ὕπατος.... δικαιοδοτοῦσιν.*] *The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay.* Αὐτοκράτορες is elsewhere used in the sense of *caecili, paid off*. DION. p. 671. Τοις αὐτοῖς δικαιοδοτοῦσιν τοις τοις τοις Ταῦταις: and in the present meaning by XEN. HELL. vi. 2. REISKE would read *ἡτταῖς*, on the authority of some half dozen manuscripts, and he gives as explanation: "A general is said *ἡτταῖς τοις στρατοῖς*, who is in the power of the soldiers, who cannot deny anything to them, who can do nothing with them, since he must endure their slights, connive at all their crimes and misdeeds, because he has neither money to pay them, nor hire others." But SCHILLER says: "I would approve of Reiske's interpretation if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as *δικαιοδοτοῦσιν, ητταῖς στρατοῦ*. But this inclines me to use *ἡτταῖς*."

Οἱ δὲ ἵπερ ἀντοῦσιν.... ὁσιῶν.] *And your orators here well lie to you with as much difficulty, about whatever be may do elsewhere.* It was the usual custom to have an orator in the pay of a general to praise him and support his actions. Οὐτις δὲ τοις τοις. *Let at random on whatever you hear.*

Τί καὶ χρῆ προσδοκᾶτε;] *What, then, can you expect? Quid, quatenus, expectandum est?* WOLF. I cannot illustrate this passage better than by quoting the following from JASPER. 760, 2. Quid, τι αριθμός interrogat is, quid est, non, an aliquod est definit

[Page 11.]

quaerit: sed qui τί καὶ χρὴ ζῆσιν, is non solum quid, sed etiam an aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene: quid dicendum est, si omnino aliquid dicendum est?) HERM. ad VIG. 837. In EUR. PHOEN. 1373, PORSON remarks on πῶς καὶ; Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποτὶ, ποῦ, ποιος, postponi.

Μάρτυρας.] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόπτας. See note. Δικαστάς. As mentioned in a previous note, all public officers had to submit to an examination of their accounts and conduct on retirement from office. Of course all could not be dicasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

Νῦν δὲ τις τοῦθος . . . αἰσχύνης.] *But now your affairs have become involved in such disgrace.* Τῶν στρατηγῶν. They did not punish their enemies in war, but exerted their best energies to condemn their generals in peace, since impeachment and trial for life awaited every unsuccessful general. SAUPPE mentions the following generals as having been several times accused: Chares, Autocles, Cephiso, lotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes. In addition to these, see the trials of Iphicrates and Timotheus, in GROTE, ch. lxxvi. and in a subsequent period of Phocion, ch. xevii.

Ἄγγια τὸν τὸν . . . προσήκοντος.] Instead of falling fighting bravely at the head of their armies (τοῦ προσήκοντος) they return home to end their life in ignominy, like *kidnappers* and *cupursers*, as he himself subsequently explains it. “From XEN. Mem. i. 2, 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was: τούτοις θάνατός εστιν ή ζημία.”—FRANKE.

Κακοίργον.] Gen. after ιστιν. For the person or thing to which some quality *belongs*, or is *essential to*, is put in the genitive after οἴται. See SOPH. EL. 1054. Πολλῆς ἀγροίας (εστι). HER. i. 107. Τρόπον ιστιν ιστι. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. xxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Etolorum nunquam fuerant; Philippi erant.

[Page 12.]

Τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.] The Thebans were envied and hated by the Athenians for their aggressions in Eubœa, and by the Laconians who could never forget Leuctra and Megalopolis. Any attack upon Thebes then by Philip would not be regarded with

[Page 12.]

alarm by the Spartans, who were not violently opposed to him, nor by the Athenians as it promised them a little delay.

[Ταὶ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι.] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOLF explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam haec fuit Graecorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari a singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedaemonii a paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses a multis. hoc est, a plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod THUC. ait. Ταὶ Αθηναῖς εἰς πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς συμάδους επιτηδέας φέρειτοὶς πολιτεύεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν, διληρχεῖσθαι.

[Ω; Βασιλοῦ] *To the King.* Ω; for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. PONSON, ad ERYN. PIERS. 1415, lays it down as a rule that Ω; can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ἀντὶ εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα γράψας τοῦτον. Some of the German commentators have attempted to disprove this, but without avail.

[Ἐπὶ Ιλλυρίῳ.] Illyria was conquered by Philip in B. C. 356 by his defeat of Bardylis near lake Bermius, and soon after, the King tendered submission, which was accepted on condition of giving up all eastward of Lake Lychnitis.

[Αἴσιας πιστροτερεῖς] *Fabricating stories.* Cf. SOPH. AJAX. 148. ζητεῖς πιστροτερεῖς. Τιστροτερεῖς joined with a plural verb. This is called the στιχοτερεῖς ήτοντος καταστάσεως. The whole is put in the nominative, and the distributive is put in apposition with its several parts. Cf. OD. i. 424. Διὰ τοτε καὶ οὐταὶ τοιαῦται δικαιοῦσθαι. ACTS ii. 6. Τίμονε τοιούτοις εἰς, τῷ ιδίῳ δικαιοῦσθαι. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. AES. vi. 743. Quisque suos patimur Mates. TAC. HIST. ii. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes.

[Μαγεῖν τῷ πνεύματι.] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his actions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μαγεῖν is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of this we now adduce a few examples. Τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. PLAT. REP. 561. D. Τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. ANACR. 17. Flbris jam sanguine civium et tanto magis cum sitions. PLIN. Quidlibet impotens sperare, fortunaque dulci ebria. HOR. xxxvii, Bk. 1.

At which my soul aches to think,  
Intoxicated with eternity.—BYRON.

[Page 12.]

Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' . . . . . ἐκεῖνος.] *Nor indeed, in very truth, does he so choose to act, that the silliest among us may know what he is about to do.* The words after these are expunged by the index of Lambinus. REISKE. The general idea is that Philip would not like to have his subsequent actions thus talked about by these silly babblers. Οὐ μέντοι γε.] These words are used here in an ironical sense to signify that although what has gone before may be true, *still, nevertheless, &c.* Ήτε belongs to the preceding word. *Non tamen certe.* HERM. ad VIGER, 842.

Ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν.] *We are fully satisfied of this.* Ἐκεῖνο refers not usually to what follows, as here, whereas ταῦτα refers to what has gone before.

Ἄποστερει.] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also DEM. p. 839, Τὴν τυχὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ τῶν ἀτάντων ἀπεστέρικε. The allusion is doubtless to the loss of the Athenian commerce through Philip's war vessels, and the consequent plundering of the allies by him, and the capture of the coast towns of Macedonia. Πολὺν χρόνον. During his whole reign so far.

Καὶ ἀπανθράπτει . . . . . ἡμῖν ἔστι.] *And that all things, which we once thought any one would do for us, have been found against us, and the future is in our own hands, &c.* I see no reason for making this sentence refer to Philip more than anybody else. It seems to be a general expression of dissatisfaction at the continuous ill-success of Athens. Nor do I think that Φίλιππος is nominative to ἀπανθράπτει, as AUGER advises, but rather ἀπανθράπτει. “I know not if this refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many things occur in Greek and Latin writers where it is better to agree with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up useless conjectures.” WOLF. It refers to all the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ ξοτὰ ἡμῖν ἔστι. Let us not trust these fellows again, but act like men, and all will be well. If not, we must fight at home, if we are too negligent to do so abroad.

Τὰ δέοντα . . . . . ἀπηγγέλειν.] *We shall know what ought to*

[Page 12.]

*be done, and cease our useless discussions.* Ἀπέστα used for ἀπέστια. The form ἐσόπειρα ἐγρακότειρ is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Ἐγὼ μέν.] “Tacite opponit alios oratores.” VOLMEL. Μένον. The usual close of a course of argument. Μέν gives emphasis, and οντος refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHED. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμιλος ξοῶ.

[Πόμη ψαυτού εἰπεν οὐχιν.] Did I choose to speak to win your favour. Οὐτοις, nisi si quid. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐτοις ἐπο-  
στειλάμενος.] With no dissimulation. Cf. OL, i. 14.

[*Editor of the "S. Afr."*] And I would wish, that as I know that it is advantageous to you to hear what is best, so I might know that it would profit me speaking for the best.

Now & *τις* *ἀδημογός*, . . . . , *πεντατονος*.] But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of *τις* here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, *a defining the notion of coincident time*, and farther to denote that it is *after* the events narrated. HER. viii. 65. 'Ετι *τις* *τετραγωνος*. To come after the things are done.

[Ἐπὶ τῷ στονοῖν . . . . . αἰμιγαν.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεποιητῷ τῷ τίτανοισιν ἵνα ἡ παραγέται, εἰπεῖν τὰ θεῖα. Being persuaded that these things will benefit you if you do them, I need only again to lay them before you. Nunc quanquam incertum est quidnam hinc consecutus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo haec vobis factu utilia fore, haec loqui aggressus sum. This is Auger's paraphrase of the last sentence, and brings out the meaning of the orator in a fair manner.

Necis, . . . . crucis,] May that proposition which shall confer the most lasting happiness upon you prevail. "Quae victoria si omnibus preposita est, facile in concordiam rediretur, et capitales inimicitie in summam benevolentiam et mutuum amorem converterentur." WOLF. Cf. the conclusion of *Ol.* iii. and *Pro MIGAL.* p. 210.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, OL. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyceiscus. DIONYSIUS, p. 737. Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὐ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ““Οταν, ὃ ἄιδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται.”” The occasion, as we learn from the introduction of Libanius, was one of some difficulty to the Athenians. Embassies had arrived in Athens, but whence they came or for what purpose, does not appear from the oration; still, it can be collected from the history of Philip. About this time, Philip sent ambassadors to the Athenians to complain that they had falsely accused him among the Greeks of having made certain promises, and afterwards having proved false to them, whereas, he says, he never made any promises, and therefore could not have been false; and he asks them for their proofs. Along with these ambassadors, others came from the Argives and Messenians to complain of the Athenians giving their support to the Lacedæmonians, who were attempting to enslave the Peloponnesian cities. The Athenians were at a loss what answer to make to each. They were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and

looked with distrust upon the union of sentiment between the Argives and Messenians, and Philip. They therefore preferred a union with the former to a seeming community of interest with any of the adherents of the king. Then again, Philip was correct in his statement regarding the promises, for neither in any of his letters to the Athenians, nor in the communications through his ambassadors, was any promise given. The promises had been held out by some Athenians, that if peace were attained, he would protect the Phocians, and reduce the insolence of the Thebans. This is the statement of Libanius, and seems sufficiently accurate to meet all the circumstances of the case.

The peace obtained by Philip in 346 was one of the grand turning points in his career. It effectually opened up to him the affairs of the whole Grecian world, and wherever any discontent prevailed his emissaries were sure to foment the disturbance. He appears, as GROTE remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a Philippizing party, and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Eschines, supported by Phrynon and Philecrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbance likely to advance his ascendancy in Greece. The Athenians saw in less than one week after the signing of the peace, that Philip was no friend of theirs, and the representations which had gained that peace produced dis-

trust and resentment against him who had so deceived them. Instead of gaining security and alliance with their powerful neighbour, they saw themselves completely surrounded by his armies, and their enemies rendered more insolent by their disgrace. For not only were they deprived of their right of presiding at the Pythian games and that honour conferred upon Philip, and, in his absence, upon some of his *slaves*, but the right of *προμαντεία*, or first consulting the oracle at Delphi, was also taken away from them and bestowed upon him—PHIL. iii. p. 119; and a direct thrust was given them, when, in spite of their efforts to save, Philip completely abolished, the autonomy of the Phocian cities.

In this oration, then, one of the objects of Demosthenes is to arouse the anger of the citizens against those men who had so deceived them. And in order the better to induce them to adopt his ideas, he reviews the actions of Philip since he obtained the peace, and then launches out against the perfidious ambassadors the full torrent of his anger at their duplicity and deception. The answers to the ambassadors are not given, nor can we conjecture what was their nature.

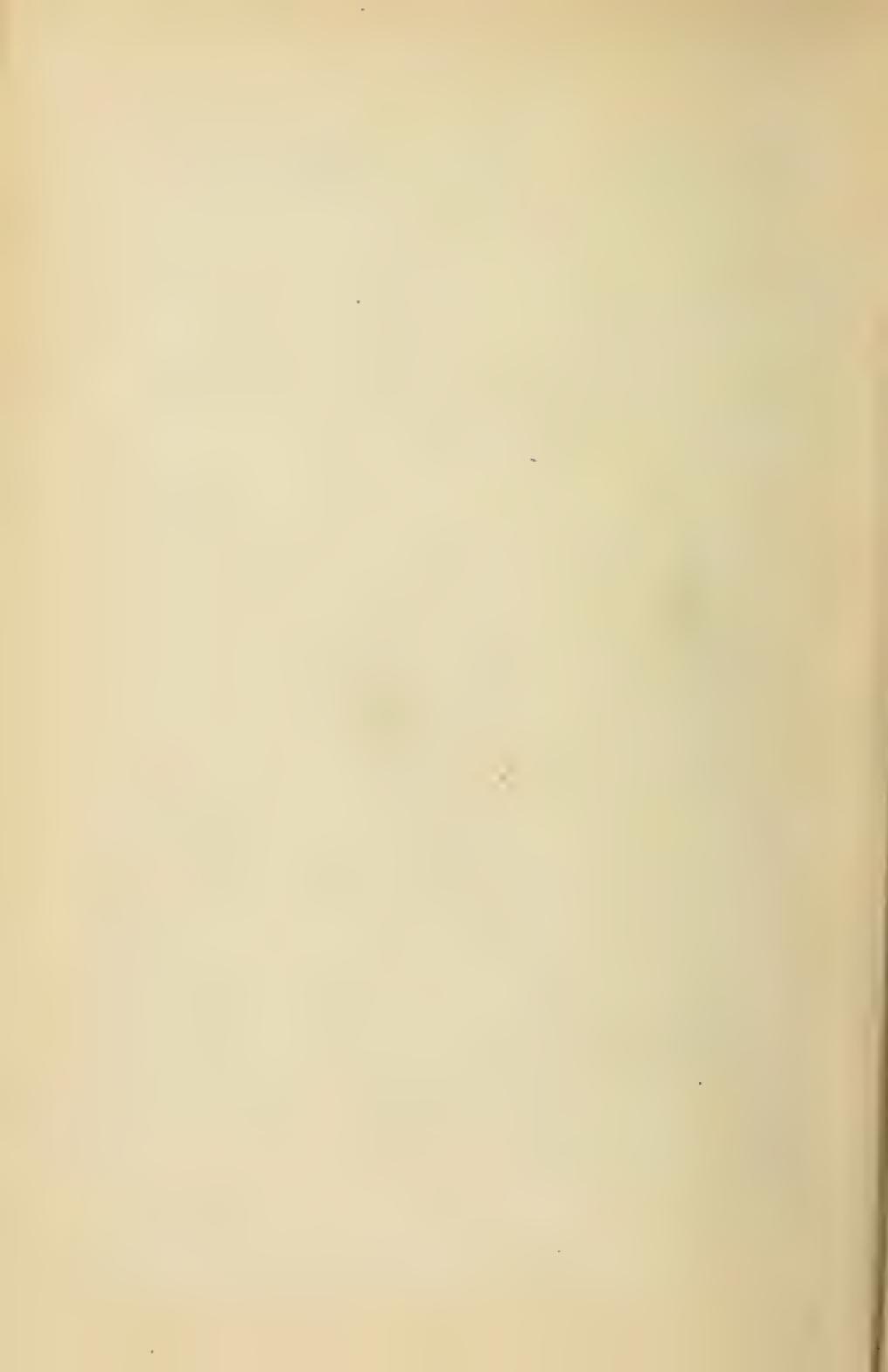
Respecting the embassies which were at Athens when this oration was delivered, a few remarks are necessary. We have already stated the opinion of Libanius, and with this Winiewski agrees. He further states that one of the Macedonian envoys was the orator Python mentioned in DE HALONESO, p. 81; and further refers to this occasion the statement in DE COR. p. 272  
 'Οτε γὰρ Πύθων Φίλιππος ἐπειψε, τὸν Βεζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσιον τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ὀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πέθοντι θριαμβοφέρῳ καὶ πολλῷ οὔσατι καθ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ εἰδα  
οὐδὲ οὐτεχώρητα. From the words employed, the state-  
ment may be correct; but we have no means of proving  
it. The opinion of Dionysius is also given at the com-  
mencement of this introduction. The whole tenor of  
the discourse would hardly seem to warrant the idea of  
the presence of Macedonian envoys at its delivery.  
The tone is harsh towards the king, and his aggressions  
are mentioned in no very complimentary terms. It  
would hardly be considered in keeping with the charac-  
ter of Demosthenes to suppose that he would hold such  
language about a king with whom the Athenians were  
at peace, and in the presence of his envoys, who came,  
according to the received account, to demand explana-  
tions for such language when delivered in Peloponnesus.

The presence of Argive and Messenian embassies is  
quite evident as the whole of the first part of the oration  
plainly indicates. Sparta had been endeavouring ever  
since the founding of Megalopolis to recover for herself  
the territory at that time wrested from her; and as  
Thebes was the enemy whom she had most to fear, she  
made an attack upon Megalopolis at the time when  
the power of Onomarchus was greatest, B.C. 352. In  
this attempt she was unsuccessful, but again in 346 she  
renewed her aggression. This time, however, she at-  
tacked Messene. The Arcadians and Argives at once  
assumed the quarrel, and marched to the assistance of  
Messene. By this aid, the Spartans were defeated.  
But Messene was still afraid, and an embassy was sent  
to Philip asking aid. He readily promised it, and sent  
them troops and money, and also intimated to the Spar-  
tans that they must resign all claims upon Messene.

PHIL. ii. p. 69. Athens, warned by the fate of Phocis, was fully aroused, and Demosthenes and others were sent to counteract the designs of Philip.—DE COR. p. 252. The embassy was not successful; but enough had been said by Demosthenes to induce the Peloponnesians to look with less favour upon Philip. The Argives and Messenians sent a counter embassy to Athens to endeavour to detach her from the alliance with Peloponnesus, and it is in their presence that Demosthenes speaks.

We have already mentioned that one of the objects of Demosthenes in this oration, was to hold up to popular indignation the perfidious ambassadors, by whom so inglorious a peace had been concluded. There is a further train of thought which can be traced through it. Demosthenes, by dwelling upon the aggressions of Philip, is carefully preparing the minds of his hearers to break the peace with him. And yet he does not directly propose it; he tells them, at the very outset, that nothing is done but speech-making, and his insinuations naturally point to something more than words. Still, recollecting the fate of others who had proposed unpopular, yet salutary measures, he will not move to declare war. The whole object of the oration then, is to supply an answer to the Messenians and Argives; to induce the people to declare war against Philip, and to administer to the traitorous ambassadors a well-merited castigation, and insinuate at the same time, that they ought to be brought to trial.



# NOTES

## TO THE

# SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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[Page 14.]

Περὶ ὅν . . . . εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions and infringements of the peace.* Βιάζεται, sc. πριττεῖ. Βιάζεται sometimes governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66. 'Ως βιάζομαι τάδε. Since I am forced to this, but in the present instance it has not this force. Παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. The peace signed at Pheræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the Athenians and Philip.

Δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους.] *Just and generous.* “The orators in their speeches professed the most unbounded respect for the common rights of Greece, which are thus considered as applying to the whole human race. The distinction between Greek and barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in this philanthropy, and hence it is that the *lore of their countrymen* was called by the most extensive term, *lore of mankind.*” LELAND.

Αλέγειν τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας.] *Appear to say what is proper=* Εἰς δέον λέγεται.

Τιγρόνεον δὲ . . . . ἀξιον.] *But nothing that is requisite, so to speak, is done; nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* The meaning of this whole passage from the beginning is obviously as follows: The Athenians listened with approbation to the speeches made against Philip, and at the same time, being at peace with him, were most desirous of remaining so. But Demosthenes in this oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De Reb. Curiis*, seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evidence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

[Page 14.]

nothing had been done that is requisite ; which from the general tenor of his speech we are inclined to interpret : *No one has formally moved for war.* Ὡς ἵπος τίπειν = Ὡς φαινεται, ὡς ἵν λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. SUIDAS.

Εἰς τοις . . . πράγματα.] Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα.

Εἰς τοις . . . παραβαινούτα.] *May convict Philip of transgressing the peace towards you.* This could easily be done by a consideration of his treatment of the Phocians after the signing of the peace at Phere, and his continual interference in the affairs of Thrace. True, these were not included among the allies of Athens, but enough had been done to show that virtually they were so.

Καὶ πατεῖ τοῖς Ελλήσις . . . ιποθεσίοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active co-operation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. D. PACT. p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia, near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. DEM. FALS. LEX. p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanians, and Paeonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellenic affairs. GROTE, CHAP. xc.

Πάρτας τοὺς . . . οὐχὶ λύτει] *All who seek their own aggrandizement ought to be hindered by action and words, and by words.* Πάρτας is the better reading which is then the accusative before λύτειν. ARNOLD reads πάρτης which then stands without a verb. Οὐχὶ. A negative proper : the agreement of the subject and predicate being denied. The form is much stronger than the simple οὐ. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρίσταται ποτε, τ. 2.

Ηαρπαλιπάτεις.] Sc. οὐκ εἰς τὰ θηρά. WORR. *A παταρίς, by syncope for ἀπατήσαντι.* Ταῦτα refers to τίγονται παρέσται. Translate : *We throw a curse from these things, fearing, &c.* The extreme aptitude of the Athenians to impach any one for

[Page 14.]

proposing unpopular measures is quite evident from the general history of the people. And even popular measures could not at all times escape the officious interference of some legal Athenian. Compare the account of the impeachment of Philocrates for moving to allow Philip to send a herald and envoy to treat for peace in the early part of B.C. 346 [ESCHIN. *contra Ctes.* p. 63], and also the impeachment of Apollodorus for diverting the Theoric fund to war purposes. DEM. *contra Neær.* p. 1346.

Τὴν πρὸς ἕμας ἀπίχθειαν.] These words have a double signification; subjective, *odium quo aliquem prosequor*; objective, *odium quod est apud me contra aliquem*. BREMI, who further states that the difficulty is in the preposition *πρὸς*. But SCHLEFER rightly remarks: Hanc ambiguitatem non pendere a prepositione *πρὸς*, sed ipsam per se inesse substantivo ἀπέλθεια, quod nunc *activum* rim, nunc *passivum* habet. It occurs in both significations in *De Cor.* p. 237. Cf. FALS. *LEG.* p. 368. Υἱῦν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους μεῖζω, Φιλίππων δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε. The word *invidia* is similarly used in Latin.

Ως δειρὰ καὶ χαλεπά.] Ως = *quam*. *However heinous and unbearable they may be.* Οἱ καθήμενοι, sc. ἐν τῷ ἐκελησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες, *the hearers.*

Ως μὲν ἄν. . . . συνείητε.] *For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them.* Ως si hoc loco finalis particula esset, coniunctivi sequi debebant. Sed orator hoc dicit *eo modo*, quasi eo genere apparatus, quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius *Philippo instructi et parati estis*, i.e. ad orationes habendas. . . . . parati estis. FRANKE. Elmsley denies ὡς ἄν finalis in Attic writers at SOPH. *Ajax*, 1217.

Ἐφ' ὧν ἐστιν ρῦν.] *Which he now aims at.* The force of ἐπὶ here is to denote *steady continuance in a thing*. Cf. DEM. *Phil.* i. p. 42. Ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γράμμης — *firmiter adhucere huius rationi.* DR. REB. CHERS. Μέντετον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀραιού τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ρῦν. SOPH. *Ant.* 1127. Ως βανας ἐλεῖται πανδίπιος πόλις ἐπὶ ρόσου, where, however, Musgrave reads *ἴπο* on account of the construction.

Συμβαίνει δὴ. . . . εἰκέτη.] *And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows.* Δὴ is frequently used to draw a conclu-

## [Page 14.]

sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. JELL. 721. 'Er *οὗ*, an explanatory or determinative proposition, is often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. BREML.

*Διατάσσεται.* Cf. supra *διατάσσεται* 16; 17. FRANKE explains these words: *E* orationes dicuntur, quibus iura Atheniensium adversas Philippum defenduntur. The orator therefore tells them, if such orations suffice, there is no further trouble. *Τάκτος.* The copula omitted, which is frequently the case with this word, and also *φροντίσων*, *ἔτρωμον*, *δύνατον*.

*Kai ποὺ προελθόντα . . . . ἀνταγονίζεται τύρανός του.*] *And that passing  
events . . . . no longer except the middle of us all, and a mighty power  
may be raised up, which we shall not be able to withstand.* ΤΕΤΑΡΤΑ  
πρώτη διατάξις. *Νε* magnitudo *εγκλήματος* *ingrat*, i.e. *Ne* tantis copis et viribus oppugnatur. *Αιτάονται* is sometimes transitive, as in ΤΗΤΕ. i. 53. *Οὐαὶ διταύρων*. iii. 52. *Οὐαὶ  
χωραὶ διταύρων*; and intransitive in the present instance, and also in ΟΛ. ii. p. 25.

*Οὐαὶ ταῦτα.*] *The same manner of giving advice.* Non eadem projecto consulendi ratio, quae prius est adhibenda.—LUCENSIUS. *Οὐαὶ ταῦτα* *est* *ad* *ratio*; *αὐτίς* *ά τι* *ταῦτα* *ratio* *hors*. A like usage is observed with *ταῦτα*. ΗΕΕ. IX. 81. *Ταῦτα* *έκκα*, *ten in all*, *Δέκα* *πάντα*, *ten each*. *ἡ πάσσα* *πόλεις*, *the  
city*, *as a whole*; *πάσσα* *ἡ πόλεις*, *all the city*, and still further, *πάσσα  
πόλεις*, *every city*.

## [Page 15.]

*Τὰ δὲ λιτατά καὶ . . . . πάντα πάντα.*] *The last and easiest measures  
are to be preferred to the easiest and most important.* The word *πάντα πάντα* must have been used here to excite the attention of his audience, and suggest to them that with Philip *οὐαὶ* enveloped them in his snare (PUN.), i. p. 43, they could not be safe. The orator thus catches their attention.

*Πλίκος οὖδη . . . . Φίλιππος.*] *What like the power of Philip is,  
and what he has made himself master of.* Πλίκος. Philip was at this time in Amphicyton, elected in the room of the deposed Phoenicians, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected general in an Amphicytonic war against Athens. Οστων. He

[Page 15.]

was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river Hebrus, and northward nearly to the Ister. Besides he held Thermopylae with a garrison. PHIL. iii. p. 119. Cf. ISOC. EPIST. *ad PHILIPPUM*, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens, Argos, and Sparta, uniting their forces for a general war against Persia. Σοὶ οὐ μόνῳ πολλήιρι ἐγονσιαρ ἵπτο τῆς τυχῆς ἐεδομένην, πρὸς οὐκ τούτοις καὶ πλοῦτοι καὶ ἐγραψιν κεκτημένοις, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐφ' ἵματι] = καθ' ἵματι, εἰς τὸ καταδιωκόσασθαι ἵματι. WOLF. The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case, yet was justified in his suspicions.

Δηγθῆται.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only, as here ; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. Τῶν ἐξέερο σφῶν. Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it ; as THUC. v. 57. Ἐξέερτο Βοιωτον. Cf. De. COR. p. 227. Ἀξιῶ καὶ δίομαι πάντων ὅμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μοι.

Διὰ βραχίων.] *Pauis* (verbis) : *In few words.* Other forms to express the same idea are, ἐν βραχεῖ, ἐν βραχίσι. SOPH. EL. 675. Κατὰ βραχύ. THUC. iv. 90.

Δι' οἵς.] “Vulg. καὶ δι' ὅν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οἵς se. λογισμοῖς.] REISKE. Ἐμοι παρίστηκε προσδοκῶν.] Παραστηκέται = *Stat mihi sententia.* It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ τινὰ παρίσταται μοι γιγνώσκειν. Δι' ὅν. The signification of these words is : *the very thing which we use as an instrument*, whereas δι' οἵς signifies *the remote cause which we look to.* VÖMEL.

Βελτιῶν.] After this word τῶν ἀλλῶν is inserted in many editions, on which HERMANN remarks : “ *Nihil est causa, cur omittatur.* ” I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English editions.

Οἱ θαρροῦντες . . . . αὐτῷ.] *Those untrified persons who trust him*, alluding more particularly to Eschines and Philocrates. Οἱ θαιρεοῦντες, *securi, imperterriti*, WOLF. Posterius praestat. SCHLEFER. Προσθήσθε, sc. ψῆφοι. *You may agree with them.* The word ψῆφοι is not added at all times, but we have the full construction in DLM. p. 1320, προσθέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον ; and in ESEN. EUM. 735, ψῆφοι ὡς ὁρίστη τίνει ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, and also in

[Page 15.]

THEC. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of Λήπτος, means *to agree with, to give one's vote in favour of.*

Δελφούς.] *Reconquista.* Ηὐλῶν. By the seizure of this pass he secured an entrance into Greece, and the power of determining the Phocian war.

Τῷρ [τὸν Φάρσεῖ τι πατεριδίαν.] Τὴς Ἀγρικερριας, καὶ τὴν εἰαθίσ-  
σεως τῶν Ηὔλων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴς Ληγῆς Φωκίδης. WOLF. *Reconquista in Phocaschis gerundiva.* FRASKE. Soon after his entering Pylus, he proclaimed himself the ally of Thebes, DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 360, and destroyed the Phocian towns to the number of twenty-two. FALS. LEG. p. 379.

Αὐτὸς δέ τις . . . τοῦ θερμοπεδίου.] *He preferred to act in the interest of the Thessalians, not in ours.* In the oration *De Pace*, p. 59, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylae, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thessalians, repeople Thespiae and Platæa, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Caramen and Corsia, and transferred to them a portion of Phocis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Thessalian policy in regard to Phocis and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

Οὐτοις τινας πλεονεκταντας . . . θεραπαι.] *Making his calculations with regard to his own aggression, and the reduction of every-  
thing to himself, &c.* Οὐδὲ τινας οὐδὲ. *Nor anything that  
is just.*

Οὐτοις τινας . . . τοις τελε.] *That to our city, and to principles  
such as ours, he might . . . offer nor perform anything of such a  
kind, as that, possessed of the city, for your own advantage, you might  
subject him to any of the cities of Greece.* TRILLIARE. *Si estatis  
tumidus.* ARNOULD following FRASKE translates this word, *could  
subject to protection, or defend* (of all countries, i.e. polliceri, can  
tamen præstare nillet). But this is scarcely the meaning, and  
I have preferred the interpretation of VUILL. and SCHILLER.

[Page 15.]

Τοῦ δικαιοῦ λόγον ποιούμενοι.] *Justitie ratione habentes—Forming a just estimate of what is right.* Πάντα ἡ προσήκει προορίζεντοι, *Omnia quae decet proridentes,—Exercising proper forethought.*

Ἄρτι τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above.

Οὐχ ὅπως . . . . ἀλλὰ καί.] *Non solum non . . . . sed etiam.* JELF. 762, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν . . . . εὐ ποιεῖ.] *And now having formed the same judgment, he is befriending the Messenians and Argives.* The hatred of these people to Sparta made them not only anxious to unite with Philip against her, but even to prefer his authority to any interference from Sparta. Hence below we find that he had sent money to them, and was even expected there himself, p. 69. Farther from *De Pace*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedaemonians.

Καθ' ἵμων ἐγκώνιοι.] The use of *κατὰ* here is exceptional. It means *in the case of, about, in regard to* the object of consideration, regarded as lying beneath, *under consideration*. Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. ARISTOT. *de ANIM.* i. 1. *Mία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων*, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. “*Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδειχαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ἵμῶν κατέστησαν.*” SCHÄFER.

Κέρπισθε γὰρ . . . . προέσθαι.] *For you alone of all are adjudged by these very actions of his as not likely to barter the common rights of the Greeks for any advantage to yourselves.* Τὰ κοινά δικαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. WESTERMANN interprets this to refer to the independence of the Greek states, secured by the peace of Antaleidas, which was disturbed by the seizure of the Kadmeia by the Lacedaemonians. But it refers with far more likelihood to the absolute freedom enjoyed by them, which they were now too anxious to give up to the Macedonian. Μηδετὸς ἄν κέρποντο . . . . προέσθαι. Cf. *De Reb. CHERS.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand *τίκται* in either case. *Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lueris.* SCHÄFER. *Κίρδον, χύριτος, ὁρνίαις.* Genitive of price.

[Page 16.]

[*Ωτε πολλατά εἰλέγειν, εἰ γετεινούσιν, σιγῇ γενούσιν απαλούς εἰς συμπλατύνην.*] Note. It is not redundant, but it *increases* the force of the adverb, as if you had said: *how different! ut aliter!*

[*Τό τον τοπον τηγανίαν.*] *From a consideration of our previous history.*

[*Εἴδεν αὐτοῖς . . . . . Σιγῆσι.*] *When they could have ruled the rest of the Greeks, provided that they acknowledged the king, &c.* ISOCRATES in his *Periagorai* states the same fact. "HARDIUS makes no mention of it so far as I know." WOLF, 227. *Conjunctio ex parte viris* quia conditionem exprimit, *in* *στρατοῦ*, *ut*; *ὅτε* significat *conjunction*. BREML. Cf. TITUS, iv. 23. ΩΤΕ *τον τοπον τηγανίαν* *εἶπεν*.

[*Βασιλικόν.*] Dative of the *substantive*, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. *ἰπακοίσαντος τῷν Ἀργείων.*

[*Τοιούτοις λαοῖς τοιούτοις προσώποις.*] To the see. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ. Series genitivis: Amyntas, Alexander, Amyntas, Philippus, Alexander. The circumstances alluded to here are briefly these. After the battle of Salamis, (Sept. 23d, 480) Xerxes hastened to the Hellespont, and crossed over into Asia Minor, leaving Mardonius with a force of nearly 300,000 men, made up of Persians, Bactrians and Medians, with contingents from other nations. HER. vii. 113. Mardonius marched into Thessaly, and there wintered; and in the meantime certain old oracles were revived "that the Athenians and Persians should conquer Lacedaemon." HER. viii. 141. The time seemed opportune to send an envoy to Athens with offers of an equal and independent alliance. HER. viii. 140, and also of the restoration of all that Xerxes had destroyed. The envoy was Alexander of Macedon, who with the Boeotian leaders, still remained faithful to Mardonius. The answer of Athens was to this effect. HER. viii. 143: "Tell us not that the power of the Mede is greater than ours; we know that too; but we regard freedom more, and will defend it as long as we can. And now tell Mardonius, so long as the sun continues in the course she now does, we never will be in alliance with Xerxes." And to Alexander himself they said: "We desire no harm to come to thee, being a guest (*πρόσεγον*) of the Athenians, but for

[Page 16.]

the future, bearing such messages as these, show not thyself to the Athenians." Then turning to the Spartan envoys, who came to induce them to remain firm to the cause of Grecian freedom, they replied, viii. 144: "There is not enough gold anywhere in the earth, nor any territory so abounding in beauty, and fruitfulness, in return for which we could be induced to medize (*μηδίζαντες*) and enslave Greece, for so long as one Athenian survives, in no way can we form alliance with Xerxes." The answer of the Athenians being conveyed by Alexander to Mardonius, he set his army in motion, and, passing through Bœotia, again appeared before Athens, which was a second time abandoned to the Persians, June 479. HER. ix. 2, 3. The inhabitants fled to Salamis, and despatched envoys to Sparta for aid. Mardonius sent a Hellespontine Greek, Murychides, to renew the offers of Alexander, and held out the additional inducement to them that he would not ravage their territory. Again his offers were rejected so unanimously that Lycides, an Athenian senator, having alone proposed their acceptance, was set upon by the rest, and stoned to death, ix, 4, 5. Finding them obstinate, and not being able to remain in Attica, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Platæa. The Persian power on the same day received another reverse from Cimon, in the famous battle of Mycale.

Τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν.] Alluding to the evacuation of the city and the withdrawal to Salamis, both when Xerxes was advancing in 480, and again in 479. Μετὰ ταῦτα, must refer to both these desertions of the city.

Α πάντες μὲν δει γλίχεται λέγειν.] Which all are eager to proclaim. Πάντες. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICIUS in his lost *Phœnissæ*, ἈΣCH. *Person*, ISOCRATES, *Oration Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly HERODOTUS, Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb *γλίχεσθαι*, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

Αξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδίνηται.] Yet none could worthily proclaim them. Mr. Kennedy appositely quotes Shaks. *Coriol.* Act ii. sc. 2. :

I shall lack voice; the deeds of Coriolanus  
Should not be uttered feebly.

[Page 16.]

For *obōs*, SCHLEFER prefers *obōs' eis*, which is certainly stronger, *Not one.*

'Εστι γὰρ νεῖλω . . . ἀνέπειροι | For their tools are so great that one cannot speak them. "The word *λόγης* is frequently contrasted with *λόγος*, the former denoting the *name, protest, or appearance*; the latter, the *reality*." BRASSE ad C. L. 781. Cf. PORSON *Phœnissæ*, 512, and the examples there cited.

Τοῖς δὲ οἰνοπατροῖς . . . πρεγδαῖσι.] Depending upon *εἰπόσκει*. Τοῖς γένει, . . . τοῖς δέ. The former, *fuller-soldiers with the barbarians*; the latter, *not opposed to them*. The Thebans seem to have had an unenviable notoriety among the Greeks on account of their favouring the enemies of their common country. They fought with Mardonius against the Athenians at Plataea. HER. ix. 67. And as regards Argos we learn from HER. vii. 148. that after much hesitation they consented to join, if the Lacedæmonians would make a truce of thirty years, and allow them to be levies of one half of the army, stating at the same time that they were entitled to the whole, but would be contented with the half. This having been refused, they remained neutral, alleging as a reason that they could join no Panhellenic levy, unless as chieftains. It is probable even, as Herodotus hints, that they would have preferred the success of Persia to a further aggrandizement of Sparta. Then again in 479 they sent word to Mardonius of the intended march of Pausanias to the aid of the Athenians, in consequence of which he evacuated Athens. GROTI, chap. xxxix. says that some affirmed that the Argives invited the Persians into Greece, as a means of protection and vengeance to themselves against Sparta after their defeat by Cleomenes.

Τιποὶ τὸν αὐτοκέντρον ἔγανθανες.] Will study their own private interests. Αὐτοκέντρος here has the accusative of *equivalent nominus*. Τιποί, dativus emendat. Αὐτοκέντρος is also construed with a dative of what causes the notion, as: ἀγαπᾶν τοῖς ἐπάρχοντος ἀγαπής. LYSIAS, 192, 26. To be contented with the good things at hand.

Ἐπὶ τὸν δικαῖον.] Upon just principles. Vos neque ministros libidinum, neque adjutores ad injurias. WOLF.

[Page 16.]

*Ἐκείνοις ἀνθίνοντινον . . . αἱρεῖται.]* Both then and now he selects them instead of you. Τότε relates to the period before the peace. The words καὶ τότε καὶ τότε, and others of a like character, are usually joined with a present tense, SOPH. EL. 676, τίνε τε καὶ τότε ἐνέπω. This is true even if the order of the words be reversed, as “καὶ τίνε θρησκευόντων καὶ τότε ἐστατίσαντινον.” SCHLEFER. Sometimes, however, the tenses vary, but when such is the case the latter is added to strengthen the former, as PLATO. GORGIAS, 43. Ταῦτα ἔτειον καὶ τότε, καὶ τότε τέλος. In *De CORONA*, p. 236, Demosthenes says: Τπέρ οἱ καὶ τότε, καὶ τότε, καὶ ἀεὶ ὄμοδογῶν τούτων καὶ διαρρέεσθαι τούτων.

*Οὐ γάρ οὐδὲ . . . ἵπποισιν.]* For surely he does not find them in possession of more triremes than you. For οὐδὲ, οὐδὲν and οὐδὲν are given as readings by REISKE. Again: for οἵσας the common reading is ἔρνισας. WOLF suggested οἵσας or παροίσας. We have given οἵσας with BEKKER, DINDORF, and the best English editions. Thebes, being an inland city, could scarcely have a navy, and in reality had none.

*Οὐδὲν εἰ περ τὴν μετοχήν . . . ἀστηρεύειν.]* Nor has he acquired an inland empire and renounced that of the sea and the maritime cities. The meaning is: “Although he eagerly desires an empire by land, much more does he wish to acquire one by sea—but although he knows you to be the most suitable to acquire it for him, still he distrusts your integrity.” WOLF. Τὸν ἐμπορίον is governed by ἀφέστηκεν.

*Οὐδὲ ἀμηχανεῖ.]* And makes no mention of the speeches and promises. This verb nearly always governs the genitive, but when it means *to retain in the memory, to repeat from memory, &c.*, it governs the accusative. Τποστίσατε. Libanius in the argument of the oration, says Philip denied having ever made any promises which he did not afterwards carry out. If such be the case, Eschines and Philocrates must have invented a strange story for the Athenians, as related by DEM. FALS. Leg. p. 409. He there relates that Philip promised, on condition of obtaining peace, “that he would save the Phocians, humble the pride of Thebes, confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, and return Eubœa and Oropus.” And this is confirmed by the *De Pace*,

[Page 16.]

p. 59. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 346. *Dependig upon one's hope after another, and upon promises (ὅτι τις πεπάντας);* p. 331. *Nor that there should be witness of the promises (ὅτι τις πεπάντας) upon which he obtained the peace.*

[Ἐπιδιδόντι πολιτευτικόν.] *Upon which he obtained the peace.* AGR. 9.10 remarks upon this: "As if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of peace." Not so. For after the peace had been sworn, and the ambassadors had returned to Athens, Demosthenes, being senator that year, made a report of the proceedings of the embassy in presence of a large audience, shewing them the whole proceedings from first to last, laying down his suspicions of Alcibiades, Phileocrates, and Philip, and advising them to send away a fleet to seize Thermopylae (FALS. LEG. p. 346.) The ships were ready at a moment's notice, having been voted in case of any emergency, p. 444. Also ECH. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *if the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.*

[Ωτι τις τοῦτο θέλει,] *With a knowledge of these facts;* i. e. Knowing you to be above corruption, and the Thebans and Argives to be weak and possessed of less naval advantages, SCHLEIER commends *εὐθείαν*, and says: "Dieat aliquis quasi omnium cum hoc lumenum statim punita conspicuum habens.

[Ἄκιν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ λόγῳ,] *Quod aequo postulat.* WOLF, because the demands of the Peloponnesians were *unjust*. The common reading is *δικαιοτάτῳ*, *quod iustiores postulat Thebates, quatuor,*

[Καὶ τοῦτο.] When *τοῦτο* is thus added to verbs, adjectives, and substantives, it has an intensive force. NEP. After he has ordered the Lacedaemonians to give up Messene. REISKE.

[Μεσσήνη.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the city Messene, are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, she refused to make peace if that were a condition. (XEV. HELLAS. vii. 4; Diod. xv. 89.) In fact, it was too willing to Sparta to acknowledge a people sprung from her own Helots, and a city founded as a memorial of her defeat. Yet all the allies of Sparta in her wars against Thebes

## [Page 16.]

would have acknowledged the city, and it was even made a matter of Athenian foreign policy. DEM. *Pro. MEGAL.* pp. 204, 206. That Philip should now order them to give up all claim against the city, must have been violently opposed by them.

[*Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνι εἰσαντα.*] These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

*Τῷ δίκαια . . . σκήψατο;*] Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice? Cf. for a similar meaning of *σκήπτεσθαι*, HER. vii. 28. Οἱ δὲ σκήψαντο μὴ εἰλέσθαι τὴν ἵμεροντον οὐσίην. The grammarians explain this verb by *προμηθεῖσθαι*. “The Lacedaemonians might contend that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea.” JACOBS.

[*Ἄλλ' ἵβιάσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχώσοντε ταῦτα.*] But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will. Not a supposed objection, as ARNOLD declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from *De PACE*, p. 62. Φιλιπποῖς τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δύπον τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲ ἵβούλετο . . . ἀλλ' ἡραγκύσθη. And we may conclude that Aeschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip’s intentions.

[*Τῶν Θετταλῶν . . . ληφθίσε.*] Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry. The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onamarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocion war. [*Ιππεῖσι.*] “The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (HELLEN. vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger.” ARNOLD.

## [Page 17.]

[*Τιπόπτωσι λειπεῖν.*] For *ιποπτεῖν*, *suscipere, habere, diffidere*. The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Boeotian city was eagerly received. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54. Πράττειν τὴν Θηβαῖον κατάλυσιν.

[Page 17.]

[*Ωφ Εὐάρεν τρύπανα.*] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* *Tetral.* Attic future. Elatea, a town of Phocis, and next to Delphi the most important, was situated in a fertile valley near the Cephissus, and formed the key to the pass from Thessaly into Boeotia. It shared the fate of the other Phocian towns destroyed by Philip at the conclusion of the Sacred War. Philip did not desire to garrison the town so long as he could rely upon Thebes, and it would have seemed strange if the new Amphictypon and avenger of Apollo had restored and garrisoned a town so lately destroyed by himself. However, in B.C. 339, he seized the town while marching as the Amphictyonic general to punish the Locrans, and soon after commenced to fortify it. This was even more than Demosthenes at this time (B.C. 344-3) expected. Philip in his march southward in 339 concealed his object until he came into possession of Elatea, and then, being in a position to force the Thebans, he disclosed to them the true object of his march, viz., the attacking of the Athenians. *Dem. De Cor.* pp. 293, 299.

*Καὶ μάλιστα γέτει. And indeed he will be about to do these.*  
*Καὶ . . . γέτει γάρ τινα.* *Julg.* 735, 10; or γέτει may mean *moreover*, as in *EUR. MED.* 1392.

[*Συμβολλαστέον μὲν μάλιστα.*] On this reading FRANKE observes, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to *Μεταγραψεν τοιινούς Αργίνοις*, *Sunt dativi qui dicuntur campani. "pro Massenii et Argivis," sc. in hisce campanis, non Lachonensis argiper.* The reading of SENATOR, authorized by many manuscripts, is *συμβολλαστέον*, but we hear of no invasion, and this reading can therefore hardly be correct. I have retained the reading *τοιινούς μάλιστα*, and would translate: *But that he is going to join the Argives and Messenians against the Lachonians: this he is not going to do.* He might send them money and men, and might even be expected himself, but he is not really going.

[*Ξένον στρατον.*] A rhetorical flourish of Demosthenes to indicate the contempt of Philip for anything like secrecy in the matter. We read nowhere else of such metronomes having been sent.

[*Τοές μὲν διπλας ἐχθροποιεῖ . . . . . μὲν σύντεται;*] *Is he now going to*

[Page 17.]

*destroy the Lacedemonians, being enemies of the Thebans, and he is about to protect the Thebans, whom he formerly destroyed?* An answer to those who said he was compelled to do in Phocis, what he would not have wished, by the Thebans. He shews the absurdity of that by his present acts. Ὁντας. *Hoc loco mag- nam vim habet, significat enim existere, oppositum σὲ ἀπόλεσεν.* BREMI. *Ἀπόλεσεν.* DEM. *de Fals. Leg.* p. 361, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns : Οἰκίς κατεσκυμένας, τείχη περιγομένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐνδικιάς, γύραν δὲ καὶ παιάνια δέιγμα, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκ- τρονς οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς ἔντας ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν τὸν ὄντων.

*Kai τις ἀν . . . . πιστεύειεν.] And who, pray, could believe this?* Kai is thus elegantly used to introduce some inconsequence in the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC. MIL. 33, *Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia?*

*Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀν . . . . ἐναντιοῦσθαι.] For I, for my part, do not think that Philip would continually oppose the enemies of the Thebans, even if he had acted so at first much against his will, and were now beginning to give them up in despair. The first ἀν belongs to ἐναντιοῦσθαι, JELF. 405, 2, and is then repeated (epanaleptically) as is often done with one of the οὐτε's. ARNOLD. *Ἐγὼ μὲν = ego equidem.**

*Ἐκ προμηθεώς.] Used adverbially *ex instituto.* Cf. p. 1097, ΑΖΖ. *ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βούλήσεως γίγνονται.**

*Ἐκ πάντων ἐ . . . . συντάττων.] And upon the whole, if any one take a correct view of the matter, everything he takes in hand, he cunningly moulds in opposition to our city. *Sυντάττων, adjungit sibi socios, per quos nos oppugnet.**

*Ποιηματείεται.] i.e., διέσδις ιστι πραγματεύεται, deprehenditur, si quis recte reputet, eum omnia machinari in fraudem reipublicæ. REISKE. The whole course of Philip's policy from his capture of Amphipolis till the fatal defeat at Cheronea, only showed too truly the correctness of this declaration of Demosthenes.*

*Νῦν γε ἐγ.] Now at least, nunc certe quidem, whatever it may have been formerly. ARNOLD.*

*Toιτον οὐ . . . . ιμε.] And he has persuaded himself that non*

[Page 17.]

alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHLÜTER reads here *iπιτιθέση*, *quia sibi persuasit*, and removes the full point at *ιπάς*.

*Kοὶ τοῦτο αἰτοῦται . . . αἰτοῦσι.] And he knows this best in his own mind.* On this whole passage cf. the speech of Caius Memmius in SALL., Juc. Chap. xxxi. *Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae qua spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?*

*Οἰς παραπλεύει . . . τοιτοῦτο] = τοιτοῦτο ἡ δράση ἡ πάτερα  
τοῦτο, *λόγος being attracted into the case of the antecedent. For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else.* Amphipolis and Potidea were the *ιπατευματα* of Athens against Macedon.*

*Οἴδας αὐτοῖς . . . τοιτοῦτο.] He could not think that he was  
firmly seated at home. *Οἴδας.* In Macedonia. *Νεδομήσιον se-  
tute posse manere duceret.* WOLF.*

*Δικιοσύνης αὐτὸν ματίν.] He thinks you must justly hate him.* The common reading is *ματίζει*. REISKE gives this reading and remarks upon it: *Nam ἀν τούτοις ad istud, neque ad hoc refertur, sed ad ματίν, existimat eos, scilicet quasi sitis, meritum colisse.* *Η ματίζεται.* He is galed on. *Η ματίζεται.* He will suffer some calamity.

*Αὐτοὶ μὴ . . . παραπλεύει.] Unless he first prevent you. Cf. PHIL.  
i. p. 43, *μὴ παραπλεύει παραπλεύειτε.* The participle is joined with  
*φθάρω*, to express the antecedent or coincident notion to which  
the action of the verb relates. JELF. 693.*

*Διὰ ταῦτα ἐγαγραστοί, ἐφιστηκείν.] On this account he is awake,  
he is on the alert. *Ἐγαγραστοί.* 2nd Perf. Ind. the present not  
being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects  
*ἐφιστηκείν* with *ιπιτιθέση*. But it is better to connect it with  
*τοιτοῦτο*, and understand with *ιφιτηκείν*, *τοιτοῦτο ποιησαντείν*, or  
*τοιτοῦτο τηγανίσαντείν* *αντίτείν*. REISKE. *Ἐπει τοιτοῦτο παραπλεύει,*  
*Altis ambit, collit, prostrat, quae nūpallidat nūctis rancor.*  
*Nourishes them against the city.**

*Ηελοποτησιωτοι τοιτοῦτα ταῦτα βελεψιπορε τείτοι.* And of the

[Page 17.]

*Peloponnesians, desiring the same things as they*, i.e. the Thebans. Some of the tribes of Peloponnesus began to be suspicious of Athens on account of her dealings with Sparta and in consequence allied themselves to Philip. Demosthenes by his embassy to the Megalopolitans and others may have increased this feeling, for they imagined that not to hate Sparta was to be her ally.

*Διὰ δὲ σκαπάνητα . . . προόψεων.]* And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results. I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Baculum in crasso iurares aere natum*, EP. ii, i. 244. It is evident from the context that the words refer not only to the Thebans, but also to the partizans of Philip in Peloponnesus.

*Καὶ τοι . . . λέπτην.]* And yet those who have any discernment may see tolerably plain ex. ples, Α καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίοντες εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς. Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives. This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; ὅτε πρῶτον ἤκηρος παντεῖτο. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus, OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (πέρσι). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

*Ηῶς γὰρ . . . Ολυνθίους.]* For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen. Γὰρ refers to ἔφην, and ἀκούειν, πησοστοκάτιν are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.

[Page 18.]

*Εἰ τίς τι λέγοι.]* Si quid quisquam dixisset. REISKE. If any one had said anything. Κατ' ικαίρον τοὺς λόγορον. During that particular time. Κατὰ in such cases signifies at. THUC. i. 32. Κατ' ικαίρον τὸν χρόνον. HER. iii. 131. Κατὰ τὸν αἰτῶν χρόνον.

[Page 18.]

[*Αιθηναῖτα.*] Demosthenes here is his own historian. Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therma, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidea to have been ceded to Olynthus by Philip during the years of the Social War against Athens. This cession of territory by Macedonian kings was not unusual. Perdiccas II. had ceded to these same Olynthians a portion of his territory near Lake Bolbe, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus Thuc. i. 58.

[*Βιτσή, ἀπτζωνοῦρτο.*] Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. *Ποτίδαια.* Supposed to have been ceded to Olynthias at the time when, having been refused a treaty with Athens, they formed one with Philip. This was during the continuance of the Social War, B.C. 358-355. The precise date is given as OL. 105, 4.

[*Ἄποικος.*] *Emigrants.* *ἐποίκος.* *Settlers.* ARNOLD, in a note to THUC. ii. 27, says, "Men are ἀποίκοι with respect to their old home, and ἀποίκοι with respect to their new one. This is the simplest and most probable way of stating the distinction between these words, and I am confirmed in it by the authority of KATZEN, note on DIONYSIUS, p. 101." The same distinction holds in the words *emigrants* and *immigrants*. These last are often called *κτηνοῦχοι, men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by lot.* Cf. on the extension of the Athenian citizens from Potidea, *De HALON.* p. 79.

[*Ille.*] WOLF says, I prefer *ἥρος*, and RITSCHALDIS: Non enim hic adoptantur Athenienses à Demosthene, sed Messenios. Ad eos itaque de Atheniensibus praedictantem inconvenitum sit *nos* usurpare, ubi *res nos* requirit.

[*Η ζέγοντος ἦ τινος πιστεῖσαν οἰστέ;*] *Or do you think they would have believed me truly if I said them so?* Η is joined with *πιστεῖσαν*, and Λέγοντος *τινος* is the gen. abs. "Nor must we include those instances where the gen. abs. is joined with a verb which requires the dative, but in this construction is used without a case; as DEM. p. 71, where we might also say *η λέγεται δι τινι πιστεῖσαν.*" JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

[*Μικρὸν χρόνον, . . . . στηρίζονται.*] *For a short time having enjoyed the territory of another, long are they dependent of their master by him,*

[Page 12.]

καὶ Ἡοῖν. “The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (*τότιν*) servitude. ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

Οὐ κρατήσετες μόνον . . . . . καὶ πραττέτες.] *Not only subdued, but also betrayed and sold by each other.* The reference here is doubtless to Lasthenes and Euthycrates, who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry, and thus led to the fall of the city. FALS. LEG. p. 426. DIODOR. xvi. 53.

Οἱ γάρ αὐτοῖσιν . . . . . ὄμικται.] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF. 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Καὶ δὲως ἀπιστον, οἴματ, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ τίμαρνις.

Οτι αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τρημανη. Peitholaus and Lycephron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Phera. Νικαῖα καὶ Μαγνησία. Nicaea was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalaecus. After Philip passed Thermopylae in 346 he occupied Nicaea with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. *ad PHIL.* p. 153. Νικαῖα μὲν ὀπαρηταῖς τοῖς The city was near the pass of Thermopylae, and is mentioned by JESCH. FALS. LEG. p. 286, as one of the keys of that pass. At what time it was given back to the Thessalians is not known with certainty.

Magnesia is a long narrow strip of land from the Peneus to the Pagesean Gulf, along the eastern coast of Thessaly. No town of this name is mentioned by Strabo or Scylax, but the Scholiast on APOLLON. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. Μαγνησία δὲ τότην ποτι ὄμικτην. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it. OL. i. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κακίζεσσον τούτην. A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21.

Δεκαδαριαν.] This word has introduced a most abundant

[Page 18.]

held for criticism among commentators. WOLF accepted it as the true reading, and explains it to mean, *a decenariate now established among them*. Philippum decuriones singulis civitatibus praefecisse intelligo, id quod et Lacedaemonii fecerunt. "Thessaly long before Philip's time had been divided into four governments. Philip, therefore, by restoring the old form, made no innovation in the government of the country." RUSKE. From this it will be seen that he favours the reading of  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\eta\pi\alpha$ . This is also ATTIKI's opinion, and it is further strengthened by HARPOCRATES, who denies that Philip established any *decuria*.  $\phi\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\eta\pi\alpha = \tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\eta\pi\alpha$  *Octo-tetra-decadrarchie or metacri-*  
*teria.* It must also be stated that Demosthenes in PITT., iii. p. 117, expressly says  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\eta\pi\alpha \neq \tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\eta\pi\alpha$ . Taking all this into view, JACOBS says: "I do not think that any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but of such an absolute rule as the Lacedaemonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (*Dekadrarchy, Decenariate*) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny." WRISKI adopts this view and VÖRPER rejects it. I shall now state his view, which I regard as the most correct one. He accepts as correct both statements of Demosthenes. "He reestablished the four ancient divisions of Thessaly called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgitis, and Hestiotis, and over each of these he appointed a tetrarch, *profectorem quatuor partis terrae*, and in addition appointed a general government of *ten*, or a *decuriate* for the entire country. He thus established both, and Demosthenes in his speech at Messene would of course use the Lacedaemonian term *decuria*, as the more odious, while at Athens speaking of the same event, he uses the milder term, *τετραρχη*." JACOBS agrees in the main with this, but differs from it in taking it for granted that an actual decenariate was established, "a fact it would be difficult to prove." But let us see how this stands. In DEM. *de Cor.* p. 241, mention is made of Eudicus and Simus. Now, HARPOCRATES (v. 2) describes him as one of the great leaders of the Alcibiades of Larissa, who invited Philip to aid them against the tyrants of Pherae. Eudicus may have been of the

[Page 18.]

same family, but let us see what HARPOCRATION says of him. *One of those appointed by Philip rulers of all Thessaly.* Εἰς δὲ ἐστιν οἵτος τῶν καταστατέρων ἵπο Φύιππον κρίνει Θετταλίας ἀπάσης. Now if Philip established Tetrarchs in Thessaly we cannot prove that Eudicus was not one of them, but in any case a tetrarch could not be called a ruler of *all Thessaly*. I have thus attempted to establish what JACOBS describes as difficult to prove, and I hope this explanation will go some way in further establishing the views of VÖMEL.

*Tὸν τὴν Πύλαιαν ἀποδόντα. . . . παρατρίσισθαι.] Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylos would take away their revenues.* Cf. *De Pace*, p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοὶ . . . τὴς πύλαιας δὲ ἐπελέμονει καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δνοῖν, κίριοι γενέσθαι. It is well known that there were two annual meetings of the Amphictyons, one in the autumn at Pylos, and the other in the spring at Delphi. Now ever since the temple at Delphi had been seized by Philomelus at the outbreak of the Sacred War, the Thessalians and other enemies of Phocis had been interdicted the use of it, and the autumn meeting had been dispensed with. After the peace of 346, Philip restored this meeting, and the Thessalians were at the same time allowed to visit Delphi as formerly. *Ηρωσόδος.* On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pagasæ.

*Οὐασπίτε.]* WOLF and SCHLEFER consider this as the Imp. mood, but I prefer ARNOLD's interpretation in the Ind. *You beho'd Philip as a dispenser of gifts and premises.* When he is at a distance he is all promises and snavity, for such is the force of *θροπήν*, whereas *ιδεῖν* implies that they are to guard against knowing him personally, from a closer union with him. For Demosthenes, and, in fact, all Greece knew his promises to each of the embassies from Phocis, Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Athens previous to the year 346, and they knew, too, his performance of them. Cf. DEM. PHIL. iii. p. 117. FALS. LEG. p. 365.

*Ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν . . . φυλακτήριον.] But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the rhetorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard REISKE

[Page 18.]

Τοι τοι τοι. *Demosthenes*, same as τοι τοι τοι supra. Cf. HER. iii. 81.

Ταῦτα ἀττίχειν. *Hold firm by this.* Cf. *De CORONA*, Αρτεχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

Οὐδὲν μὴ ἔστερ πάθετο. *There is no fear that you will receive an injury.* REISKE's reading is οὐδὲν ἔστερ (οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦτο). Cf. τοι τοι τοι. Facile τι concursu cum ποτιού exadiere, id quod sapissime factum obser-  
vavi.

Εἶτα οὐχ ὁδητε..... ἔχοντει. *Then look not to Philip, whose  
very titles are most foreign to this.* Εἶται and οὐχιται, in expressions  
implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that  
something unexpected results from what has gone before. JUL. 874, 6.

Βασιλεῖς..... καὶ μηδέποτε. *A rhetorical exaggeration, as  
the comparative weakness of the Kings of Sparta might show.  
ARNOLD.* Yet it might be strictly true of Philip whom Demos-  
thenes here was aiming at. Σὺντονοὶ ΙΣΩΤΑΙ. *Haec  
νέου : ἵσχυρότατος ρόμος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τροπός.* WOLF.

[Page 19.]

Οὐαὶ τοι τοι τοι τοι τοι. *Declaring with showers of applause  
that these things were rightly spoken.* Cf. *De RIB. CURIIS*, p. 97.  
Οορυζεῖτε δε ὥστις ἀρέτη. Πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους. *Multasque  
alios oratores.* *Many other speakers, &c.* Ήμεῖς τῶν πολτῶν, οἱ  
λυτρι, numpe, ab illis unicum Demosthenes ad Messenios legati  
fuerant, et quos Demosthenes illie reliquit prius discedens ob  
causam nobis ignotam. AUGER.

Καὶ ταῦτα τοι τοι. *After the departure of Demosthenes, who  
may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere  
τοι τοι.* VON MITTEN removes the comma after these words, thus  
connecting them with what follows, and Mr. Kennedy, in his  
translation, does the same; on which method of construction  
BREWER remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions  
with τοι τοι refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

Ηαρ' α..... ὥρωσι. *In opposition to what their best reason may  
approve, i.e. against their convictions.* ΤΑΚΚ ἔμετσ..... ὥρωσι.  
But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.

[Page 19.]

A German critic translates *vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et oratoribus auditis, &c.* Observe the contrast between the comparative ignorance of the Peleponnesians and the Athenians, who prided themselves on their knowledge, and of consequence despised all others.

[*Ιερποται τιζαθε.*] Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43. The common reading is *ποπτει τιζαθε*, on which REISKE remarks: Illa significat: committitis, ut velut in imagine claudimini; haec: patimini vobis arcis imponi, que vos in officio contineant.

[*Ἐκ τοι μηδὲν ἵδη πονεῖτε . . . . οἰ πονηταῖςτε.*] *From your doing nothing now, you will undergoes be brought to undergo, in my opinion, all these things.* In this passage there are various readings. SCHAFER and HARRISON have: *ἴσης εἰς τοι μηδέν.* WOLF regards *ἴσης* as having been inadvertently added by the transcribers of the manuscripts from the two which precede. He, therefore omits it, and is followed by REISKE and DINDORF. ARNOLD here reads *ιστε μηδέν* *ἴδη πονησαι*, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE's edition, who collated from the codex Σ. The weight of authority will favour *πονησαι*, but for *ἴσης* no valid reason is given. ARNOLD's note is: " *ιστε . . . . πονησαι.* On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VÖM. reads *πονεῖν*.) BAITER and SAUPPE have adapted this reading from the best manuscript (Σ). There are, however, many various readings: F. and WST. read *εἰς τοι μηδέν πονησαι*, from having done nothing, &c." Ηίντα is opposed to *μηδέν*.

[*Η παρατιχ' ἥδοι . . . . μέλιτοντος.*] *The present ease and indulgence prevail over future advantage.* Another strong denunciation of the unwillingness of the Athenians to incur personal service.

[*Καὶ τινες αἰτοῖς.*] *By yourselves.* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

[*Α δέ τινες . . . . ἴδη τιζα.*] *Quae vero nunc respondeatis necessaria de re civitatis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. *I will now state to you the answer which I think it is proper for you to decree.* This answer, however, is not here given, although from the words employed it

[Page 19.]

is to be expected. Nor can we form a very accurate idea of its nature. This difficulty is variously explained by commentators, but the more rational conjecture is that the *γιναντις* was here called upon by Demosthenes, to read a draft of the resolution or answer proposed. In accordance with this view I have retained with DINDORF the word ΑΙΗΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

*Tοὺς προστατεύοντας τοὺς ἀποστόλους.]* Those who reported the promises. The allusion seems to be to Eschines and Philocrates, and perhaps to Ctesiphon and Aristodemus the actor. What these promises were we have already stated.

*Οὐτοὶ δὲ προστατεύοντας τοὺς ἀποστόλους τοῦ Φίλιππου.]* Demosthenes had served with great reluctance upon the embassy to Philip to obtain the oaths, and he affirms that he should not have gone if he had not promised to ransom some Athenians taken captive at Olynthus; that on this embassy he detected the treason of certain of the envoys above mentioned, and that he laboured night and day with Philip; that he had written a letter to the Athenian people giving an account of the state of affairs; that he was prevented sending it, and that his colleagues sent a letter containing false information; that he did not desire to stay, and further, having hired a ship to convey him home, he was not allowed to depart. FALS. LEG. pp. 357 and 445.

*Εἰ τοιούτη τοιούτη ητοι.]* If they had seized the pass of Thermopylae they might have compelled him to retreat in 346 as he had previously done in 352.

*Αλλ' ἵνα.....ζεγόνευα.]* But what was then reported was very different from what had resulted.

*Τοὺς δέτει.....ζεγόντας.]* Those who declared, when I, after the *πάτρα μας* made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pylos and the *Πλευράς*. *Φιλανθρωπία.* When the terms of treaty were drawn up at Athens, the words were: That Athens and her allies made peace and alliance with Philip and his allies. FALS. LEG. p. 391. This would have included the town of Halius and the Peloponnes; and the Macedonian envoys, Pammenio and Antipater, refused to acknowledge them. Then when Philip took the oaths

[Page 19.]

Phœre, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylae and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, οὗτοι την σημαντέρην τόπον," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. Eschines and Philocrates are alluded to in ἐτέρους.

[Ως ἔγώ . . . . ἄθρωπος.] *That I being a water drinker was naturally a poorish and stubborn fellow.* Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355, where Demosthenes himself tells the story: Επαραστάς δὲ Φιλακράτης μάλα ὄβριστικός, οὐ δέπι, ἔφη, θαυμαστόν μὴ ταῦτα καὶ οὐ δημοσθένεις δοκεῖ: οὐτος μὲν γάρ οὐδὲρ, ἐγὼ δέ οἶος πιστός. καὶ ἵνα τοιούτης ἔταιρος. "The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOR. i. Epist. 19, 2, *Nalla pluviae diu necire carmina possunt. Quae scribantur aquae pueribus.*" JACOBS. LIBANIUS, in his life of Demosthenes says, *ιδού τις τοιούτος πιστός, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν πιστός.* Among the Greeks it was a proverb, "Υδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἀν τέκοις καλόν.

[Οισποιος οὐντι Πλάταιάς.] Before the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas gave notice to such Boeotians as were unfriendly to Thebes to march out of the country. The Thespians, therefore, proceeded to Athens, and there found shelter. They were thus expelled from Boeotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. Plataea had always been favourable to Athens more than to Thebes. The city was destroyed in 417 by the Thebans, and its territory annexed. But at the peace of Antalcidas they were again acknowledged as autonomous. However, certain intrigues between Athens and Plataea being detected, in 372, the Thebans again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at Athens. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

[Χειροποιὸς τοιούτοις τοῖς σε διαρίζεται.] *And will cut through the Chersonese at his own expense.* This project is not mentioned in the *De Pace* among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the *De Halos.* The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from Leuce Acte to Pteleon, and the canal would have completely insulated the Athenian possessions from continental Thrace, and prevented incursions. WOLF quotes an old oracle on this subject: 'Ισθμὸς δὲ μὴ πνηγοῦτε, μήτ' ὄρισσετε· ὁ Ζεὺς γέ θήηκε νῆσον, εἰ γ' ἐβούλετο.

## [Page 19.]

*Kαὶ τὸ δέῃτε . . . . μηδέ τε . . . . οὐδὲ μνήσκετε.]* Although not celebrated or remembering injuries. 'Επιζαρθρώσατε τιωθέτες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see De COR. p. 252.

*Kαὶ τὸ ταῖτον εἰλαχίστον . . . . οὐδὲ μνήσκετε.]* And the most disgraceful of all is, you acted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity. Ηγείρετε τοιούτας. Ironical, *ad bene speculandum*. AUGER would interpret *ταῖτον* *spū*, *ritus promissis decepti*. The *ταῖτον* posteri; *τοιούτας* = nepotes. FRASKE. This certainly was short-sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectively cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. FAIS. LEG. p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. FAIS. LEG. p. 356.

## [Page 20.]

*Οὐτοις τοῦτον οὐτούτοις . . . . ποιήσω.]* So completely were you deceived. SCHREIBER hints that τοῦτον τοῦτοις ought to be inserted after τοῦτον, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 59. DE PAGE. Τοτούτας ἀλπίδας καὶ φερακισμοὺς, οἵτις ἐπαλθέντες.

*Οὐχὶ τοις τοῖς λοιδορίας . . . . ποιήσω.]* Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination. On *τοῖς λοιδορίας* (τοῖς τοῖς). Cf. DIAW. De COR. p. 248. Εἰς λογογραφίαν. I have followed AUGER, who here translates: *Ce n'est pas pour me attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires, en les invectivant moi-même.* But that the opinion of others may be seen I append a few translations. *Non ut cum conciliatoribus congressus mihi quidem eundem apud vos invidentium faciam.* SCHLEIER. *Not that by breaking out into invectives I may expose myself to like treatment.* LIAVSKY. ARNOLD follows AUGER, and translates: *Not that, breaking out into invectives, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive.* But the objection to this is, as Mr. Kennedy remarks, that he translates *λοιδορίας* *in order to gain a hearing for myself*, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, *λογογραφίαν τιθεντι*. WHISTROD further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is an logical meaning in it.*

*Ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραστῶ.]* I may now afford. *Ἐξ ἀρχῆς* usually has

[Page 20.]

the meaning of ἀνχῆθεν, *from the beginning*; as Od. i. 188. Ξεῖρα ποτρώσιοι εὐχόμενοι εἶρατο εἰς ἀρχῆς. XEN. Η ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχθρα.

Τιμὴ τὴν ἀλλως ἀδολεσχῶ.] *That I may profit to no purpose.* Cf. OL. iii. p. 34. Τιμὴ ἀλλως λέγεται, *frustra dicere.* Τιμὴ τῶν is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHNEIDER remarks: 'Ως ἀλλως satis notabile videtur. 'Ως ἀλλως = temere.

'Αὖτις σίματα . . . τὰ νῦν.] *But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now.* Τὰ νῦν = *prorsus rerum conditio.* BREMIL. Τὰ νῦν = *At present, now.* AN-  
NOLD. WOLF interprets, Τὰ νῦν πεπαρθηστασμένα, *quām ea quae nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα.*

Τὸ γάρ . . . προβούτορ.] *Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, iner-  
bresevere, i.e., the designs of Philip against us.* Τούτο refers to the same thing.

Μηδέ ἀκοίηθε . . . μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖτρος.] *And when you may not hear from me, nor any other, that these things are preparing against you.* WOLF translates: *neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis, aut alio quopiam.*

Φοβούμενοι δῆλοι . . . δεδοριδοκρότες.] *I fear that your ambassadors, having been silent upon the very things for which they are conscious of having been bribed.* The ambassadors more particularly referred to are Philocrates and Eschines; with perhaps Phrynon, Ctesiphon, and Iatrocles. Διά τοι τοὺς. *By their instrumentality.*

Τὰ ποῦτά.] = *Plerumque.* Often. Εριον. Referring to the Athenians themselves. Sometimes, however, justice was meted out; and in this very case some of the principal actors afterwards paid the full penalty. Eschines long after retired to Rhodes on the conclusion of the trial of the Crown, and speedier justice fell to the lot of Philocrates, who was more to blame than even he. Being impeached by Hyperides, FALS LEG. p. 376, not long after the peace, he did not stand his trial. There is no doubt he was deeply tainted with corruption. Demosthenes charges him with buying corn, building houses, importing timber, and changing gold. And further, he is accused of having an estate on the Olynthian territory, yielding him an income of a talent. FALS LEG. pp. 376, 386.

Τιμὴ ὀργῆς ἀφίεται.] *Irām effundentes. Discharge your wrath.*

[Page 20.]

Συνισταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Αγανακτησι-  
σταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῷ ἀπάντω τοῦ Ελλήνων.

Tοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τοῦ .} The allusion of course is to Alcibiades, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

Ωτὸν τοῦτον . . . .} *By being possessed of which, he has  
become possessed of the road into Attica and the Peloponnesus.* The  
possession of this pass was always regarded as the key of central  
Greece and the Peloponnesus. This and Elatia were now in the  
power of Philip, and, holding them, he could at any time enter  
the Grecian states from Thessaly.

Τῷ οἰκαῖων.] WOLF inserts 'Ελληνικῶν, which is received by  
many commentators, but rejected by others. The allusion here  
must be to the rights assured by the peace to all the Greeks ;  
whereas if 'Ελληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general  
homogeneity of the Greeks. Τῷ οἰκαῖων τοῦ. The affairs of the  
allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

Ἐτίστη τῇ οἰκείᾳ] The day of the peace, June 13th, B.C. 346.  
Some, from PHIL. in p. 115, Αὐτῷ διεγένετο Φιλία, &c. &c.,  
would refer the commencement of the war to his seizure of the  
Phocians, but it is more spirited to refer it to *that day*, which  
Demosthenes had vainly tried to postpone indefinitely.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ . . . . πρᾶγμα.] *For if you had not then been defeated,  
there would be no difficulty to the city (—).* RITSCHI has added  
εἰρ in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from  
the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

Οὐτε γὰρ ταῦται . . . . κρατήσας.] *For certainly he would not have  
gained a victory by his first, &c. The Athenians were far superior  
to him in naval affairs and in the equipments for a fleet.* Cf. PALS.  
LEG. p. 389. Οὐτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθῶν οὐτε νησὶ, κρατήσας εἰ-  
τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἴξειν ἔμελλε.

ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἀντὶ τοῦ . . . . ἐπεθέμησεν.] *Or he would forthwith  
have been involved in such a war as that which made him then  
desire peace.* This of course is mere rhetorical flourish. Philip's  
idea of peace was to gain quiet possession of Thermopylae ; the  
war gave him very little anxiety.

[Page 21.]

‘Ως μὲν οἰστοισιν.] JELF. 863. ‘Ως δὲ ἀν. . . . . μὴ ;έρωτο.} WOLF translates *absit autem, id ut dii omnes prohibeant, ne experiendo certissime comprobentur.* Translate: *May it never be that these things may be fully proven by what may result.* Cf. JELF. 810. Also, “ARIST. Av. 1338 γενοματαιτός ήδη πιταρε, οὐε ἀν παταληίην, i.e., *ut si, forte, volem, ut colari possim.*” FRANKE.

Οὐδὲν εἰ δικαίος ἐστὶ οὐποίοισται.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui periret.* *Not even if he deserved to perish.* Cf. DEM. *contra Meid.* p. 518. Οὐ δίκαιος ὅν ἀπολωλέραι.

Δικηγρ ἡποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial.* Cf. HER. ii. 118, Καὶ τοκ ἀν δικαιῶς αὐτῷ δίκαιος ἐπέχειν. Also DEM. *c. Aristoc.* p. 637. Οὐ δικηγ ἐπέχειν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δικαίος εἴμι.

# TABLE OF PARALLEL PAGES.

The column on the left hand refers to the pages of Reiske, which are always given in the margin or inserted in the text of the Leipzig editions; the other columns refer to the present edition. The references all occur in the notes to this edition.

## FIRST PHILIPPIC.

| Page | 71 on page | 27 corresponds to page | 18, line | 4.  |
|------|------------|------------------------|----------|-----|
| " 50 | " 27       | " "                    | 9, "     | 8.  |
| " 68 | " 33       | " "                    | 15, "    | 30. |
| " 51 | " 38       | " "                    | 10, "    | 15. |
| " 44 | " 58       | " "                    | 4, "     | 25. |
| " 45 | " 58       | " "                    | 5, "     | 17. |
| " 73 | " 66       | " "                    | 19, "    | 23. |
| " 46 | " 66       | " "                    | 6, "     | 3.  |
| " 47 | " 73       | " "                    | 6, " 27. |     |

## SECOND PHILIPPIC.

| Page | 69 on page | 81 corresponds to page | 16, line | 27. |
|------|------------|------------------------|----------|-----|
| " 42 | " 85       | " "                    | 3, "     | 4.  |
| " 43 | " 86       | " "                    | 3, "     | 25. |
| " 54 | " 95       | " "                    | 12, "    | 3.  |
| " 43 | " 98       | " "                    | 4, "     | 19. |
| " 71 | " 100      | " "                    | 18, "    | 7.  |
| " 43 | " 105      | " "                    | 3, "     | 26. |





























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